UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

OU_218431

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

OUP—787—13-6-75—10,000.

OSMANIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Call No. 954.63 Accession No. 21671

Author S16A.

Title Saletore . B. A.

Ancient Karnataka

This book should be returned on or before the date last marked below

*Poona Oriental Series No. 53*

# ANCIENT KARNĀTAKA

VOL. I

## HISTORY OF TUḶUVA

BY

BHASKER ANAND SALETORE

M.A., Ph.D., (Lond. et Giessen)

**Professor of History**

**Sir Parashurambhau College, Poona**

**POONA**

ORIENTAL BOOK AGENCY

1936

## Other works by the same Author

1. Der Wert der Listschen Lehren für die Lösung dei indischen Frage. (Leipzig, 1933). Price Rs. 9.
2. Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire. 2 Volumes. (Madras, 1934). Rs. 12.
3. The Wild Tribes in Indian History. (Lahore, 1935) Rs. 5.
4. The Marāṭha Dominion in the Karnāṭaka. (In th Press).

---

Other work on Ancient Karnifaka

1. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times.
   By Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D.
   *Publishers:*—Oriental Book Agency, Poona.
   Price Rs. 7-8

*All rights reserved by the Publisher*

***Printed by—S.*** **R. Sa sāi, B.A., LL.B., at the Samarth Vidyalaya's ' Samarth Bharat' Press, 947, Sadashiv Peth, Poona**

***PMished*** **6y—Dr. N. G. Sardesai, L. M. & s., Manager, Oriental Book Agency, 15 Shukrawar Peth, Poona 2.**

**To**

The beloved memory of my elder Brother

***Bhavani Shanker***

who inspired and guided me

in this work, but was

snatched away before

its completion

# PREFACE

In the following pages the history of a province which till now has remained practically unknown, has been brought to light for the first time with the help of all available historical materials. This province of Tuḷuva, now represented by the South Kanara district of the Madras Presidency and the greater part of the North Kanara district of the Bombay Presidency, has ever remained an integral part of the Karnāṭaka, with political relations with almost all the royal families that ruled over the southern and western parts of the Peninsula.

The dynasty that ruled over Tuḷuvanāḍu was never an imperial house; but imperial families alone have not always contributed either to the political or cultural greatness of the country. Royal families of minor states have in a great measure, especially in the Karnāṭaka, helped to preserve our ancient heritage and history. This is the reason why, instead of beginning the ancient history of the Karnāṭaka with the Sātavāhanas and the Mauryas, I have prefaced it with the annals of the Alupas whose interesting history dates back to the second century A. D., and whose district preserved in tact the language and culture of the Karnāṭaka when they were threatened with admixture in the other parts of the province. One of the reasons why this ancient dynasty was able to hand down to posterity the culture of the Tuḷu and the Karnāṭaksl people, is because of the fact that its province lever suffered from the invasions of the Muhammadans, whose onrush proved so disastrous to the stability of numerous states in the western and southern parts of the country.

The history of my district has been studied from five points' of view. In the first chapter, dealing with the Legendary Beginnings, I have attempted to place Tuḷuva on the background of the legends of the whole of the western part of India. The second and the third chapters deal only with the domestic and foreign relations of the Alupa rulers, based entirely on their own stone and copper-plate inscriptions as

well as on those of their neighbours the Karnāṭaka and Tamil monarchs. Tuḷuva tradition as embodied in a work called *Grāmapaddhati*, which is introduced to scholars for the first time, is incorporated in the fourth chapter styled Village Organization. Religion forms the next topic of my study, based again on epigraphs, literature, and Tuḷuva and non-Tuḷuva tradition. And, finally, the life of the Tuju people gleaned exclusively from their admirable folk-6ongs called the Paḍadanas, brings the work to a close. In the first appendix I have given a tentative rendering into Kannaḍaof the passages found in the Greek Farce, improved and verified since my earlier rendering of the same in 1926 when I had, at his own request, sent Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. R. Shama Sastry, then Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore, these passages put into Kannaḍa. A comparative list of the many households of Tuḷuva, as found in the different versions of the *Grāmapaddhati*, is the second appendix ; and the third contains a genealogical account of all the Alupa kings discovered till now.

Notwithstanding my continual and personal investigations in the various parts of the district, I find that I have made but a beginning in the direction of writing a complete history of the Tujuva people. These pages, therefore, form only a preliminary study of this ancient and hitherto unexplored province. Since sending the Ms. to the press, I have secured through the kind exertion of wellwishers and friends various Mss. which, should there be an occasion in the near future, I shall amply utilize in the next edition of the work. I have deliberately omitted some phases of the history of Tuḷuva, which will be dealt with in a later dissertation. This work forms the first of a series of five volumes which propose to deal with the history of Ancient Karnāṭaka from earliest times till the downfall of the Western Cālukyas.

I have abstained from giving a bibliography, as I have cited almost all authorities with the necessary details in the tootnotes. All the works utilized in my work are available at the Oriental Book Agency, Poona.

My obligations and gratefulness are due to quite a number of persons : Mr. K. N. Dikshit, M.A., Deputy Director-General of Archaeology, Simla, who was good enough to ask the Superintendent of Archaeology, Southern Circle, to send me the transcripts of the following unpublished stone inscriptions found in Tuluva-Nos. 372 and 419 of 1927-28, 485, 488, 490, 491, 509 and 526 of 1928-29 ; Paṇḍit Venkaṭadāsa Acārya and Paṇḍit Kaṇṇārakuduru Bhaṭṭa Rāmakṛṣṇayya, both of Uḍipi, who spared no pains either to accompany me in my tours in the district, or to assist me in procuring Mss., or to supply me with all the data I wanted ; Mr. S. L. Kapadi, Librarian of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society who, with his ever-obliging Assistants, made it possible for me to recast completely an earlier version of this work, during the spring of 1934 ; Mr. V. Ganesh Sunder Rao of Uḍipi and Mr. M. Sunder Row, B.A., L. T., of Mangalore, who have lent me some of their photographs ; my brother Mr. G. N. Saletore, B. A., who copied for me a fine version of the *Grāmapaddhati* hailing irom Uḍipi; Mr. K. R. Shetty of Uḍipi, who has drawn an excellent map of Tuluva for me ; my wife who has prepared the index ; Vidyāsudhākara Dr. Har Dutt Sharma who has gone through some of the proofs and offered me his learned advice; Mr. S. R. Sardesai whose careful execution of the work merits all praise ; and Dr. N. G. Sardesai whose kindness and generosity make it possible for this work to appear in print.

**Vijayadaśamī, 1936.**
**198/11, Tilak Road, B.A.S.**
**Poona, 2.**

CONTENTS


| Chapter | | Page |
|---|---|---|
| I | Legendary Beginnings ... ... | 1 |
| II | The Alupa Dynasty ... ... ... | 57 |
| III | Foreign Relations ... ... ... | 195 |
| IV | Village Organization ... ... ... | 296 |
| V | Religion ... ... ... ... | 368 |
| VI | Life in Early Tuḷuva... ... ... | 459 |
| | Appendix A ... .. ... ... | |
| | The Greek Farce with Old Kannaḍa Passages | 584 |
| | Appendix B ... ... ... ... | |
| | Households in the Thirty-two Grāmas of... | |
| | Tuluva ... ... ... ... | 598 |
| | Appendix C ... ... ... ... | |
| | Alupa Genealogical Table ... ... | 618 |
| | Index ... ... ... ... | 621 |
| | Map | Frontispiece |
| | Illustrations | |

# ERRATA

| *Page* | *Line* | *For* | *Read* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 33 | 13 | dharaṇī-bhūvar | dharaṇī-devar |
| 40 | 28 | XL | XLI |
| 45 | 13 | or Tuḷuva | of Tuḷuva |
| 59 | 14 | samabhṛtyatām | samambhṛtyatām |
| 68 | 13 | of Bhaṭarikula | of the Bhaṭārikula |
| „ | 18 | Aḷuka | Aḷuka and |
| 71 | 21 | in village | the village |
| 124 | 2 | 1256 | 1236 |
| 127 | 8 | Oḍḍamadeva | Oḍḍamadeva, |
| 169 | 13 | Soyideva Alupen dradeva I | Soyideva Alup-endradeva |
| 205 | 9 | MalyaladeSa | Malayaladesa, |
| 222 | 8 | Mārasrava | Mārasarva |
| 249 | 14 | Pāṇḍyas | Pāṇḍavas |
| 253 | 22 | Rācmalla I | Rācmalla II |
| 322 | 22 | blanch | Branch |
| 344 | 19 | Saka 74 | Saka 742 |
| 382 | 20 | Sam bu | Sambhu |
| 393 | 9 | Kandukā Devi | Kundakā Devî |
| 474 | 14 | Deyi Badiyedi | Dēyi Baidyedi |
| 485 | Footnote | I. A. | I. A. XXIII |

# ANCIENT KARNĀṬAKA

## VOL. I HISTORY OF TUḶUVA

### CHAPTER I

## LEGENDARY BEGINNINGS

*Summary* .—**Derivation of the word *Tuluva* with the aid of historical and traditional evidence. 2. Tuluva in the legend of Paraśurāma. Historical and traditional notices of the story of Paraśuraṁa. 3. Examination of the story relating to the alleged creations of Parasúraṁa. 4. The veracity of that part of the above story relating to the Sapta Konkanas examined. 5. References to Tuḷuva in the epics and the Puraṁas. 6 Claims of Tuḷuva to antiquity based on epigraphs, writings of Tamil authors, and accounts of Greek geographers.**

### 1. DERIVATION OF THE WORD TUḶUVA

Ancient Tufuva comprised the whole of South Kanara and a part of North Kanara. The misnomer *ot* Canara was applied to the district only in comparatively modern times.[1] Tuḷuva* today is nearly 150 miles in

1. **Wilks called Tuluva by the name Canara. *Historical Sketches of the South of India,* I., p. 8 (1810); I., p. 5 (1869). Read also Buchanan, *A Journey through Mysore, Canara and Malabar** III,, p. 201. Caldwell explains how this name Canara was misapplied to this part of western India. *A Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages,* p. 6, n. (1856).**

2. **Sturrock, *South Canara Manual* I., p. 1.**

length, about twenty-five miles broad in its narrowest and fifty miles in its widest parts. But according to traditional as well as historical accounts, this province extended far beyond its modern limits in the north. The legendary origin of Malabar as embodied in the *Keralotpatti* relates that the Tuḷuva-rājya commenced from Gokarṇa in the north as far as Perumpuḷa in the south.[1] From the evidence of inscriptions to which we shall advert in the course of this treatise, it will be seen that the northern limits of Tuḷuva as given in the legendary accounts of Keraja, are by no means unreliable. In fact, so late as the sixteenth century A.D., the people associated the land south of Mirjan, situated on an islet south of Aiikola, on the Gangavāḍi river, with Tuḷuva.[2] But the name Tuḷuva came gradually to be restricted to a smaller area till with the annexation of the district by the British in A.D. 1799, it was confined to a stretch ot land bordered on the north by the forest line of Sirïir and on the south by the town of Caravattïaru.

The origin of the word Tuḷuva remains still a difficult question. According to tradition the name Tuḷuva is traced to the activities of a ruler called Bhoja Rāja, also known as Candraśekhara. It is said that in order to please the Brahmans, he gave them

1. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collections*, p. 28. Cf. Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, pp. 48-9 (1924). Another version of the same work says that the southern boundary of Tuḷuva was the Kaṇṇiorottu river, south of Kavai. Buchanan, *op. cit.*, III., p. 8.

2. Barbosa, Duarte, *A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar*, etc. I. p. 184, n. 2. (Dames, London, 1918).

munificent gifts like the *tulā-puruṣa-dāna*, the *tulā-dāna*, etc. Since he presented to the Brahmans, who had come from different provinces, gold weighing one hundred *tolas* each, he was called Tulābhāra, Tulā Rāja, and Tulā Deśādhipati, and the people over whom he ruled, the Tuḷu people. Further, the dynasty to which he belonged came to be known as the Tolār line.[1]

Keraḷa legends ascribe the name Tuḷuva to one Tulurhbhan Perumāḷ. This ruler, it is alleged, fixed his residence at Koṭeśvara, a prominent Saivite seat in the northern part of Tuḷuva, just before Keraḷa was separated trom Tuḷuva. The country was thenceforward called after his name.[2]

Sturrock merely echoes the opinion of others that the word Tuḷuva could be traced to the word *tulu*, meaning mild, humble, meek, etc.[3]

None of these explanations can be given any credence. We may dismiss the last one as being inadmissible both on historical and philological grounds. In the first place, the achievements of the Tuḷu people in historical times, as we shall presently narrate, bring out clearly a trait in the character of the early Tuḷuvas quite opposite to the one which is indicated by the ingenious explanation offered by Sturrock. Moreover, there is no evidence to prove that the word Tuḷu,—which is not in common use, as

1. Cf. Srinivasa Hegde, *Daksina Kannada Jilleya Caritre*mattu Bhuūdḷa Pdnḍya rdyana Aliya Kattu,* pp 44-45. (Mangalore, 1913).
2. Sturrock, S. *C. Manual,* I . , p. 2.
3. Sturrock, *ibid ;* Brigel, *Ṭuṭu-English Dictionary,* q. v.

Sturrock rightly remarked,—was ever current among the Tuju people themselves; and that they called the country which they inhabited by a name signifying a feature in their character which they did not possess. Turning to the other two explanations, we may note that the story of Rāma Bhoja's munificence was evidently an invention ot the Brahmans; while that of Tulumbhan Perumāḷ, whose identity itself is a matter of speculation, was the result of confusion between the legends of Tuluva and those of Keraḷa.[1]

The word Tuḷuva may be derived from the Haḷe Kannada verbal root *tulu,* to attack,[2] signifying thereby the nature of the ancient Tuḷuva people whose warlike activities in the early ages of history secured for them that appellation from their neighbours, the equally or perhaps more ancient Karnāṭaka people. Evidence in support of this may be secured from their folk-lore, traditions, faith, games and political history. The stirring sagas called Pāḍadanas contain their folk-lore ; and these describe, as we shall prove in the later part of this treatise, the activities of gallant men and women whose memories are even now cherished with legitimate pride and affection by the Tuḷu people.

1. The unhistoricity of the derivation of the name Tulu from Tolāra it* seen when we note that the earliest variant of the name is Tolaṁk and not Tolāra. This name Tolaṁa appears in an Alupa record dated A.D. 1140-41. *176 of 1901.* The Perumals themselves were foreigners. Read Logan, *Mah b( r Gazetteer,* pp. 230, 244.

2. Cf. Kittel, *Kannada-English Dicty.,* p. 738.

The traditions of the Koragars, some of whom seem to have formed a part of the Tuḷu people,[1] the Mailars, the Holeyas, the Mogers, and others, justify our assumption that they belonged to a warlike race. The traditions of the Koragars, for example, eulogize the deeds of a powerful Koragar king named Hubāśika and of his nephew. We shall refer to them later on in the course of this treatise. The legendary account of the Holeyas as recorded in a narrative called *Bahudanda,* cited by Buchanan, relates that a ruler who belonged to that tribe seized upon the country. In the same account we are told that the Mogers, who now form the bulk of the fisher-folk of Tuḷuva, assisted the Holeyas. It is believed that the Mailars (Mallars?) were the rulers of the country. Ruined forts at Maddur, four miles to the north-north-east of Kasargoḍu, and at Kāvu, thirty-five miles to the north-east *oi* the same town,[2] bear witness to the olden times when the war-like Tulu people had conquered the country.

Ample evidence can be gathered from their games in order to establish their claims for martial activities in the past. Sports like *ajakayi-derpuni,tappangayi,* the *ambodi jatra, korida-juju, tute-dara, keddasa* festival, *cenḍu,* and *bōṇṭe*—these are the survivals of the far-off times when the militant Tuḷu people wrested the ownership of the land from the hands of the aboriginal inhabitants.

1. **On the Koragars, read Saletore, *The Wild Tribe in lndian History*, p. 43. (Lahore, 1935)**

2. **Sewell, *Lists of Antiquoriar Remcirs it: the Madras Presidency* I. pp. 238-239. (Madras, 1882)**

*Ajakāyi-derpuni* is a favourite game among the Billavars and the Buṇṭs.[1] It is a contest between two persons who hold cocoanuts in their palms at a distance of about twelve to fourteen inches, and bring the fruits one against the other simultaneously. In this game the broken fruit is the property of the victor. The *tappangāyi* is a game which is played in the open in front of a household. A cocoanut shorn of its fibres and well smeared with oil, is thrown into the air. A scramble follows at a given signal among those present—the *javaṇere,* as the youth of the locality are called,—and the strongest retains it in his hands as a sign of victory. This game is common among all classes of people.

But the *ambōḍi jātrā* is a pastime which is seen only among the Holeyas. It is held at Ermāḷ, Udayāvara (near Uḍipi), and Baḷḷamañje. The *ambōḍi jātrā* is a mock fight with staves about three, some times six, feet in length representing swords, between two parties. The *kōrida-jāju* or cock fight is indulged in by all classes of people except the Brahmans and the Jains. We have described it elsewhere in detail.[1] An equally interesting and universal game is the *ceṇḍu* or a sort of foot ball played during the famous *jātra* at Poḷali. It is held on the occasion of the car festival which takes place on the Mīna Saṅkramaṇa, in the famous Rājarājeśvarī Durgā Parameśvarl temple. Popular belief con-

1. Saletore, *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society,* XVII, pp. 316-327.

nects the play *(cendu)* with the heads of the *daityas* named Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa.[1]

More interesting than the above is the torch fight called *tūṭe-dāra* which is best seen in the Bappanāḍu *grāma,* a suburb of Mūlki, Mangalore tāluka. It is held at night in front of the Durga Paramesvari temple at Bappanāḍu. Only two rival parties take part in it: the people of Bappanāḍu and those of Kārnāḍu. The latter are led by the Guṇḍāl household *(manetana)*; while those of Karnāḍu, by the Bāḷehittalu and the Nāḍi Kuduru people. Each party consists of seventy to ninety men. They are stationed at a distance of about fifty feet. Torches of cocoanut leaves about two and a half to three *feet* in length, are prepared by the Holeyas of the respective villages. The combatants are expected to have taken a ceremonial bath and to have abstained from drinking liquor and eating meat. Every combatant has two to three torches at his disposal. At a given signal, the men of the Kambaḷasāna light a torch and give it to the leader of the Bappanāḍu *grama.* Likewise a man from the Māgaṅdāḍisāna gives a lighted torch to the Kārnāḍu people. On a second signal being given, the two parties throw at eadi other the lighted torches. The game lasts for about fifteen minutes when the leaders of both parties end it. We are unable to determine the significance of this interesting and unique Tuḷuva game.

1. **Cf. Hegde,** *Caritre,* **p. 258.**

An equally noteworty sport of the Tuḷu people is the hunting excursion on the *keḍḍasa* days. This game is common to all the people and is held over the whole of the district. The *keḍḍasa* festival begins, according to some, on the 24th of the Tuḷu month of Mā̄yi (February-March), or according to others, on the 25th of Makara (i. *e.*, on or about the 5th of February), and lasts for three days. It is held, according to the popular conception, to commemorate Mother Earth's purification. All the Tuḷu people suspend work on these days, and go a-hunting boars, rabbits and wild pigeons. Food prepared out of baked *kuḍu* or horse gram *(dolichos uniflorus)* and rice is eaten during these three days.[1]

The term *bōnte* (Kannaḍa *bēṭe)* is given to an ordinary hunting expedition conducted on a large scale by the chieftains of a locality. How heartily the Tujuva chieftains conducted the *bbnte* will be seen when we shall describe the life oi the people.

The whole trend of events from early centuries ot the Christian era down to the sixteenth century, and especially the rise of an indigenous principality which rested solely on the strength of Tuḷuva arms and which

1. The term *keḍḍasa* is also piven to the change in the direction of the wind. The north-easter which begins to blow in February-March is called the *keḍḍasa-gāḷi.* The *keḍḍasa* excursion of Tuḷuva may be compared to the annual hunting festivals of the Hos of Chota Nagpul, the Ahaira of the Rajputs, the Munda rite, and the Sitale festivals of the tribes in Bihar. Read, Hastings, *Encyl. of Religion and Ethics,V.p.* 20. *B. A. S.*

lasted till the fourteenth century attest to the warlike nature of the Tuḷuva people in historical times. One significant phrase used in inscriptions in connection with them, as will be given in detail when we shall deal with the political history of the province, *oiz.*, that hostile rulers were like a submarine fire to the ocean the Tuḷuva army *(Tuḷuva bala-jaḷadhi-bajavanaḷam),* adds to the testimony that is decidedly in favour of the early Tuḷuvas being considered as a people of aggressive habits.

## 2. TUḶUVA IN THE LEGEND OF PARASURAMA

Tuluvanadu, or as it was known in early times AJvakheda,[1] was a unit by itself since the earliest ages, both according to tradition as well as history. It is entirely erroneous to assume with the compiler of the *South Canara Manual* that no definite historic record relating to South Kanara has been found of earlier date than the eighth or ninth century A. D., and that "it must certainly at one time have formed part of Kerala, or Chera," the westernmost of the three ancient Dravidian kingdoms mentioned in the Edicts of Emperor Aśoka.' An enquiry into the origin of Tuḷuva as an independent unit brings us to the description of the personality and achievements of one of the most remarkable figures known to Hindu tradition. This was

1. **Only once is it called *Tuluva-visaya* in a later record. *136 of the Epigraphical Report of the S. Circle* for 1901 ; *South Irdian Inscriptions** VII, No. 327, p. T/8.**

2. **Sturrock, *S.* C. *Manual,* I. p. 54.**

the famous Jāmadagnya, or Paraśurāma, as he was known more popularly, to whom is ascribed the existence of Tuḷuva as a separate historic province.

The story of Jāmadagnya, or Rāma, as he is called in the *Mahābhārata,* briefly told is the following:—Once king Kārtavīrya, also known as Sahasrabāhu Arjuna, because he had been endowed with a thousand arms by Dattātreya,—ruler of the Haihaya tribes with his capital at Māhiṣmatī, came to the hermitage of Jamadagni. He was received by Reṇukā. wife of the great Ṛṣi, with all due respect. But Kārtavīrya, filled with the pride of his valour, in return to her hospitality carried off along with him by violence the calf of the milch cow of the sacred oblations and cast down the tall trees surrounding the hermitage. Bhārgava, on being told by his father about the cow, killed the king. The sons of Kārtavīrya revenged the death of their father by attacking the hermitage of Jamadagni, and slaying the old Ṛṣi when Rāma was away.

Rāma in sorrow vowed to extirpate the whole Kṣatriya race. He killed the sons of Kārtavīrya, and thrice seven times cleared the earth of the Kṣatriya caste ; and with their blood filled the five large lakes of Samantapañcaka, from which he offered oblations to the race of Bhṛgu. Here he saw his sire once again; and on being told by him what to do, Rāma offered a solemn sacrifice to the king of the gods, and presented the earth to the ministering priests. To Kagyapa he gave the altar made of gold, ten fathoms in length and nine

in height. With the permission of Kasyapa, the Brahmans divided it into pieces amongst themselves, and they were thenceforward called Khaṇḍavāyana Brahmans.-

The story as told in the *Rsjadharma* section of the *S'āṅti Parva* adds that when Jāmadagnya had given the earth to Kaśyapa, the latter desired him to depart, as there was no dwelling place for him in it, and to repair to the seashore of the south. It was here that the Ocean relinquished to Rāma the maritime district of Surpāraka. It must be remembered that the Surpāraka region is distinctly said to be the creation of Paraśurāma. Thus in the *S'āṅti Parva* :—

*Tatah S'urpdraham des am sagarah tasya nirmame* I
*Sahasii Jamadagnyasya S'oparante mahitalam* II[1]

With the above story which is narrated in the *Mahābharata* and repeated in the *Puranas,*[2] we may proceed with our narrative. Of all the versions of the story as given in the *Puraṇas,* that narrated in the *Sahyādrikaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa* has an intimate bearing on the history of Tujuva.[3] The version in the *Sahyādri-*

**1.-2. Cf. Saletore, *Paraśurāma in History and Legend.* Paper read at the VII, All-India Oriental Conference, Baroda, 1933. Read also the *Mahdbhdrata,* Vana Parva, Sec. CXV, pp. 355-62; Sānti Parva, Sec. III pp. 6, seq ; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa,* pp. 401-4, and 404, n (21); *Matsya Purañ,* Chs. XLII-XLIV. pp. 110-120. See also *ibid,* pp. 112-116. (Taluqdar); *Agni Purañ,* III. CCCXXVI. p. 1005. (Calcutta, 1903); *ibid,* Ch. IV, vv. 12 seq. pp, 4-5; Ch. V. v. 14, p. 5 (Poona 1900); *Bhdgavata Purañ,* Bk. IX. Ch. 18, pp. 62-65 (Calcutta, 1896); *Padma Purana,* Vol. IV, Ch. 268, pp. 1847, seq. (Poona, 1894);**

**3. *Skañda Purañ,* Uttaraṙdha, Ch. VI, v. 21, seq. p. 324, seq. (Ed. Gerson d'Cuhna, Bombay, 1877). Read also *Sahyadri-kanda* Ch. I, V. 82, p. 304, on the Brahmans irritating the great hero.**

*kanda* is substantially the same as that related above with the exception of a few details which will be examined presently.

The story of Paraśurāma dating back as it does to the times of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and before, cannot be altogether dismissed as a fascinating fabrication of the fertile Brahman brains. Even at the risk of digressing a little from the main part of our narrative, we may be permitted to make a few observations concerning this great figure, especially as gathered from the -writings of Hindu writers and epigraphical records. These notices, as we shall see at once, will help us to elucidate the alleged creation of Tuḷuva by Jāmadagnya In the *Mahabhurata* itself we have a few places associated with the name and greatness of Paraśurāma. Proceeding next to the mountain called Mahendra, we are told in that epic, inhabited (of yore)by Jamadagnya, and bathing in Rama's tirtha, a person acquireth the merit of a horse-sacrifice.[1] In the same work we are informed that after visiting the asylum of Sarabhaṅga, one should proceed to Surpāraka where Jamadagni's son had formerly dwelt. Bathing in that *tirtha* of Rama, one acquireth the merit of giving away gold in abundance.[2] Dhaumya relates to Bharata further that in that same Surparaka *tirtha* are two sacrificial platforms of the illustrious Jamadagni, called Paśana and Punascandra.*

The *Markandeya Purana* informs us that along the northern half of the Sahya mountains is the region in

1-3. *Vana Parva,* LXXXV, LXXXVIII, pp. 277, 279, 291.

which the Godāvari flows and which is delightful even when compared with the whole world. And Govardhana is the charming city of the high-souled Bhārgava race.[1]

References to Paraśurāma and his creations on the west coast are also found in the *Raghuvaṁs'a* where Kālidāsa gives clear evidence of the legend having been current in about the fifth century A.D. While describing Raghu's march through the Sahya regions and Keraḷa, and the adjoining lands on the west coast, Kālidāsa says that when Raghu's vast armies spread out in view of conquering the west, the sea though (at one time) sent back by the missiles of Parasurama now appeared as if touching it. Then, again, it is mentioned, continues the poet, that the ocean when entreated, gave space to Paraśurāma; (the same ocean) now paid tribute to Raghu through the kings of the west. In a later context, Kālidāsa informs us that prince Pratipa having obtained the god of fire as an ally in battle, he considers the sharp edge of Parasurāma's axe which is the very destructive night to the Ksatriyas to be no more than the petal of a lotus. While narrating the story of Paraśurāma himself, Kālidāsa informs us that he destroyed the Kṣatriyas twenty-one times.[2]

---

1. *Markandeya Purana,* p. 310.

2. Kalidasa, *Raghuvamsa* IV. 53, 54, 58; VI. 42; XI, 66, 67. And *ibid,* 38-41 where the poet describes the activities of Kārtavirya Sahasrabahu. (Bombay, 1916).

Allusions to the ruler of Māhiṣmati, Sabasrabāhu Arjuna, and Parasurama are made by Bana in his *Kādaṁbhari.* A portress, who approaches king Śūdraka with some news, is thus described :-like the blade of Parasurama's axe she held the circle of kings in submission.[1] Then, again, the parrot Vaiśaṁpāyana relates how it saw the Sahara army coming out from the forests of the Vindhyas. It was like the stream of Narmada tossed by Arjuna's thousand arms.[2] While describing Candrapida's deftness in the use of arms, Bana writes that his shafts, like those of Paraśurāma when the latter blazed to consume the forest of earth's royal stems, cleft only the highest peaks.[3]

Even the account of a foreign writer of the sixteenth century A.D. contains echoes of the old legend. Duarte Barbosa thus remarked while writing about Tujuvanfdu which he called Tulinat :—"And the Indians say that in former times all these low grounds were sea, which reached to the said range (i. e, the Western Ghats), and that in process of time the sea uncovered it, and swallowed it up in other parts, and to the foot of those mountains. There are many traces of things of the sea, and the low ground is very level like the sea, and the mountain chain is very craggy, and seems to rise to the heavens..." [4]

**1-3. Bāṇa, *Kādaṁbhari,* Purv. pp. 25-26, 109, 295 (Ed. by Śri Haridftsa B. Siddhanta Vyasa Bhattacarya, Calcutta, 1916); pp. 5-7, 21 61. (Ridding).**

**4. Duarte Barbosa, A Portuguese, *A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar,* Etc p. 84. (Stanley. London, 1865).**

We have to come to the sixteenth century, therefore, in order to meet with people who ascribed the origin of the western coast, and with it the beginnings of the province the history of which forms the subject of our narrative, not to the doings of a remarkable personage but to a subterranean agency in some palaeolithic period which the ancients masked under the guise of a legend.

Nevertheless the achievements ot Paraśurāma have been recorded in epigraphs ranging from the first quarter of the sixth century A.D. to the first quarter of the sixteenth century. The Gaṅga king Durvinita Kongunivrddha, who ascended the throne in A.D. 482, is called in the Nallāḷa plates issued by himself and dated in his fortieth regnal year *(i. e.,* A.D. 522-3), " an incarnation of Parasurama in the art of using *astras, upastras,* and other weapons."[1] The Western Cāḷukya ruler Vinayaditya Satyasraya, son of Pulikesin II, is praised thus in a record dated A.D. 692:—That he was reckoned to be an elephant-goad to kings like Paraśurāma.[2] This is repeated in an inscription of A.D. 694.[3] Sripurusa Kongunivarma II, the Ganga king, is said in a record dated A.D. 749 to be in valour like the son of Jamadagni.[4] This eulogy in regard to the same valiant monarch is

1. *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1924, p. 91 On the date of his accession, read Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions,* pp. 5, 35.

2. *Epigraphia Carnatica,* VIII. Sb. 571, p. 92.

3. *Ibid,* XI., Dg. 66, p. 62.

4. *Ibid,* VI. Mg. 36; p. 66.

repeated in A.D. 776 and again in A.D. 797.[1] Even in the reign of the Gaṅga king Ereyappa Nitimaṛga II, an inscription dated A.D. 903 describes Śrīpuruṣa Pṛthvī Koṅguṇivarma II to be in valour Jamadagnya.'

Rajendra Cola Deva (A.D. 1016-A.D.1064) is credited with the conquests of a great many forts and cities, and especially with the performance of a deed which is in all respects singular in the history of Paraśurāma. Inscriptions ranging from A.D. 1019 till about A.D 1101 maintain that that great Tamil ruler conquered "many ancient islands securely guarded from time immemorial by the sea resounding with conches; and the crown of pure gold worthy of Laksmi, which Parasurama, who in anger extirpated kings twenty-one times in battle, had deposited in the inaccessible Sāndima (also called Sandima, and in one record Candimat) island, having considered it a secure place." [3] Candimat is a corruption of Santimat, or Śāntimarita ;[4] and it may be identified with the island Santi mentioned in the Tulu *Gramapaddhati* as having formed one of the seventy-seven islands which belonged to the Ghorāṣṭra on the western

1. *E.* C, IV. Ng. 85, p. 135 : *My. Archl. Rept., for* 1921, p. 20 ; *E.C.* IX., N1.60. p. 40.

2 B.C.. X. Kl. 90, p. 26.

3. *[bid.* X. HI. 106 (a) p. 32 ; III. Nj. 134, p. 109 ; X. Kl. 44, p. 11 ; Nl. 7, p. 31 ; I I I . T N . 34, p. 74. Of these Nj. dated A. D. 1021 and T N . 34 dated A . D . 1074 relate that Paras'uriima raging with angertbound the kings twenty-one times. See also Rice, *Mysore Gaz.*, I. p. 334 (rev. ed.); *My. & Coorg.*, p. 88.

4. Dr. S K. Aiyangar was kind enough to inform me that Cândimat was probably the Tamil form for ^ântimanta. But about its location he was not certain. B. A. S.

coast of India.[1] But no further details concerning this island are available either in history or legend.

Vinayāditya Satyāśraya was not the only Western Cālukya ruler whose warlike activities are associated with Paraśurāma. The famous Vikramāditya VI, more commonly called Tribhuvanamalla II, and Vikramāhka, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1073-4, is thus described in a record dated A.D. 1077 :—" the resoluteness of him who in order to destroy the Kṣatriyas in the earth slew the kings twenty-one times. "*

This remarkable achievement of Paraśurāma is also connected with the rise of one of the feudatories of the same great Western Calukya monarch. An inscription dated only in the 38th regnal year of the king Vikramāditya VI *(i.* e., in A.D. 1112) dealing with the origin of his feudatory Padiga, son of king Gunda, of the Bali race and of the Bappura family, ruler over Kisukād, says the following :—" When Jamadagnya came in the

1 Srinivasa Hegde referring to a copy of the *'(irdmapaddhati* said to have been in the possession of Palli Subbannficiirya, enumerates the seventy-seven islands which formed a part of the Ghorfistra. *Caritre* , pp. 41-42 I cannot accept the description as valid because it is not mentioned in any other version of the G*ramapaddhati* which I have secured from various parts of the district. Ghorasfra seems to have been a form of Go-ratra, and is not met with anywhere in inscriptions Of the seventy-seven islands only the following seem to be historical —Valalanka (i. e, a quarter of Mulki), Uppinakuduru, Hanuvaradvipa, Hattikuduru and Babbukuduru Excepting Hanuvaradvîpa, which is another name for Honnāvfiru. the others are still seen today in Tuluva. B A. S.

2. *E. C* , VII , Sk. 124, p. 97 ; Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Districts,* p. 49 (1st ed.). Rice places the accession of Vikramaditya VI in A.D. 1076. *My. & Coorg.,* p. 73.

course of his wanderings in which he destroyed the Kṣatriya race, there were born from the caves of mount Kiskindha certain heroes from whom sprang the members of the Bali race, who are the ornaments of the Bappuras."[1]

Viṣṇuvardhana Bittiga Deva is thus Jgraised in a record dated A.D. 1160 :—To king Narasimhavarma, a Cola ruler, (he was) like an axe to a tree or Paraśurāma to Sahasrabāhu,-this wonderful king Viṣnu became the destroyer a hundred times of Kṣatriyas.*

Rulers on the eastern coast too were associated with the name of Paraśurāma but this time it is with one of his singular characteristic features. The *Makamanaales'vara* Kondapadmati Buddharājā, who belonged to the Sūdra caste, is called in A.D. 1171-2 a Paraśurāma (in keeping vows)/

But it is generally the monarchs of the Karnāṭaka and the western parts of India whose martial deeds reminded the people of the valour of Paraśurāma. Of the Kalacuriya king Rayamurari Soyi Deva, also called Soma, an inscription dated A.D. 1174 relates thus: "His guru Aśvatthāma causing with affection the moustaches and beard of that Soma to grow thick, as if for ornament, when Parasurama with a raging fire of

1. *Epigraphia Indica,* XV. p. 106.

2. *Inscriptions at S'ravana Belgola,* No. 138, p. 183 (1st ed.). Evidently this refers to the expulsion of the Colas from the Karnataka country. See Rice, *My. & Coorg.,* p. 99.

3. E. I., VI. p. 273.

fury came to swallow up the kings, with great affection preserved him, and together with a sign (or crest) the name of Kalacuri to that family—this Isvaramsa."[1]

Vīra Narasiṁha II (A.D. 1220-1235) of the Hoysala dynasty, is described in a record date A.D. 1223, to be "stronger than Parasurama."[2]

The earlier story of Parasurama having reclaimed the land is given in an inscription dated A.D. 1368 thus :—Having turned back the ocean and conquered the earth, the acme of might and liberality, the sole repository of fame, was Jāmadagnya who, slaying the Kṣatriyas that from enjoying the earth were filled with pride, made it as far as encircled by the ocean the possession of the Brahmans.[3]

Reminiscences of the pious deeds of Parasurama in Karnāṭaka as well as in the regions around it may now be mentioned. A defaced inscription dated A.D. 1538 of the times of the Vijayanagara monarch Acyuta Rāya, informs us that Paraśurāma had set up the image of the goddess Kōḷāla in the *puṇyaksetra* of Dahana Kōḷāla, and that (in the same year) the name of that holy place was changed into Kolala Bhargaya.[4] The god in the Veṅkataramana temple at Lakkondanahalli in the Hosakote tāluka, is said to have been set up by Parasurama, according to the *sthala-mahatmya* of the locality.[5]

1. *E.* C, **VII.** Sk. 236, p. 136. 2. *Mys. Inscriptions, p. 32.*
3. ***E.* C VII. Sk. 281, p. 146.** 4. ***Ibid,* X. Kl. 114, p. 44.**
5. **E. C, X., Kl. 114, p. 44 ; *My. Archi. Rept.,* for 1919, p. 7.**

Hirernagalur in the Kadur district, as the *sthala-māhātmya* of that place relates, was once the residence of nine *siddhas* or saints, who performed penance near a pond in the village known as SiddhapuṣkaraṇL It then became the residence of Parasurama. An image of Rāma was set up there. The town also contains a singular memorial. It is the temple of Paraśu, or the axe of the hero. The town was rechristened as Bhargavapurī.[1]

Sorab tāluka is the Surabhl which was Jamadagni's possession. The temple of Reṇukā, mother of Paraśu-rāma, existing to this day, at Candragutti, is said to mark the spot where she burnt herself on the funeral pyre of her husband ; and the temple of Kōlālammā at Kolar is said to have been erected in her honour from Kārtavīrya's having been slain there. The colloquy with Sagara is said to have been held near Tīrthahajḷi.[2] It was here at Tīrthahajḷi that Paraśu-rāma stood and aimed his axe at Sāgara, as is also narrated in the *Grāmapaddhati* of Tuḷuva.

There is a processional image of wood representing Paraśurāma in the village called Cikkanāyakanahalḷi.* Pajya, a small village twelve miles west of Hassan on the Hassan-Sakalespur road, is reckoned to have been the hermitage of Jamadagni.[4]

Tuḷuva too has places which are associated with the memories and doings of Paraśurāma. Three miles

1. *My. Arehl. Refit* . for 1916, p.21; *My. Guz.,I.* p. 276. (rev. ed.)
2. *My, Gaz.,* ibid. 3. *My. Archl. Rept.,* for 1918, p. 14.
4. *Ibid* for 1926, pp. 1-2.

north of Uḍipi lies the village of Puttūr which contains a temple of Durgā Bhagavatī said to have been established by Paraśurāma. Although the origin of this temple is according to us quite different, as we shall point out in a later context, yet popular conception connects it with Paraśurāma. It is said that he established the image of Durgā Bhagavatī in that temple. Besides this image Paraśurāma is said to have erected three Durga images and four *Nagalayas* around Udipi. The Durgalayas were those at Kunjaru, Kannarapadi and Indrāṇi (Indrāli or Indraḷḷi). The four *Nagalayas* were those of Aritōdu, Tāṅgōdu, Māṅgōḍu, and Muccalagōḍu, all of them bejng in the Udipi tāluka.[1] Uḍipi or Rajathajpīṭha itself, one of the seven holy places in Tuluva, is said to owe its existence to Paraśurāma's piety. The other six centres were Kumārādri (modern Subrahmanya), Kumbhakāśi (modern Kōṭa), Dhvajeśvara (modern Koṭeśvara), Krōḍa (modern Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa), Mūkārhbā (modern Kollūru), and Gokarṇa (now in North Kanara).

The temple of Rēṇukā at Kunjāragiri, a village about eight miles to the south-east of Uḍipi, is considered very holy because of the image of Reṇukā which, according to the *Sthala-mahatmya* of the locality, Parasurāma installed in memory of his mother.[2] The *Sthaḷa-*

1. These four *Durgalayas* and the four *Nagalayas* .form the *Astabandhas* round Rajathapitha. B. A. S.

2. We may observe here that in this holy place at Kunjāragiri, there are four *Tirthas* called Paraśutīrtha, Gadātīrtha, Dhanuśtirtha, and ^aratirtha. Legend ascribes them to the prowess of Parasurāma. It

*māhātmya* of Kadirikā asserts that Parasurāma made a sacrificial fire which the Kanapathi Jogis of the north turned into an altar in later days.

The region immediately to the south of Tuḷuva, Keraḷa, also owed its origin to Paraśurāma. At least so it is related in the traditional accounts of that province called *Keralotpatti.* These legendary accounts of Keraḷa which will presently be cited, are, however, more confusing than those of Tuḷuva.[1]

We may briefly note here how Paraśurāma has figured in the annals of other provinces as well. Thus, for instance, it is related in the traditions of the Khatris how, when he was exterminating the Kṣatriyas, a pregnant girl escaped and took shelter with a Sarsut (Sarasvata) Brahman. When questioned by the pursuers, the Brahman said that she was his cook (khatrut?), and to prove it ate bread of her hands.[2] Parasurama is also mentioned in the traditions of the Nirmand Brahmans of the Sutlej and of the Palias of Bihar.[3] It is maintained by some that a few sculptures in the Konarak temple in Orissa represent the shooting of arrows by Parasurama.[4] Commenting on one of the bas- is interesting to note that the Tuju language has been used in connection with Parasurama in districts outside Tuḷuva. In the Chitaldroo^ district is a place called Parasuramapura, some inscriptions of which are partly in Tuju. Rice, *My. Gaz.,* I. p. 180 (lst ed.)

1. Taylor, *Catalogue Raisottre of Oriental Mss.,* I I I . pp. 665-6; Wilson, *Mack. Coll.,* I. p. 74.
2. *Indian Antiquary,* I. pp. 289-290 ; *ibid,* I I . p. 26.
3. Rose, *Castes and Tribes of the Punjab,* I . , p. 345; I. *A. I.* p. 337.
4. /. A.,XLVII,p.215.

reliefs at Rāḍāmi, Dr. Charpentier remarked that the *s'ūrpa* or winnowing basket found therein may possibly be referred to Paraśurāma.[1]

## 3. EXAMINATION OF THE STORY RELATING TO THE ALLEGED CREATIONS OF PARASURAMA

The detailed references to Paraśurāma's character and valour given above, while they prove the extreme popularity of the great personage and of the veneration in which he was held, especially in the Karnāṭaka and Tamil regions, do not contain notices of his creations which deserve now to be examined also with the aid of literary and epigraphical evidence. That Paraśurāma cleared the earth of the Ksatriyas twenty-one times, tradition, literary works, and inscriptions unanimously agree. In the version of his story as given in the *Mahabharata* and repeated in the *Visṇu Purana*, as mentioned above, we said that Paraśurāma gave the earth to the ministering priests who, with the permission of Kaśyapa, divided it amongst themselves. It was also further observed that Jāmadagnya retired to the sea shore of the south, on being told by Kasyapa that he had no place anywhere to reside.

These two details seem to have furnished later writers with matter for the construction of an ingenious story which is best described in the *sahyādri-kaṇḍa* of the *Skanda-Purana*. Narrated in the briefest words, it is the following :—That Paraśurāma stood on a parti-

1. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for* 1929, p. 152.

cular spot, threw his battle axe into (or, as some say, shot his arrows at) the Ocean, and with the land thus relinquished to him by Sāgara, formed seven divisions known as the Sapta Koṅkaṇas. Of these seven divisions, Tuḷuva was one. (A minuter division was made of the land into *gramas* or villages which were distributed amongst the Brahmans.) After a series of events which need not be described here, he retired to the Mahendra mountain.

The *Sahyādri-kaṛuḷa* asserts that he stood on the top of the *Sahyn-Sahyaćalasya s ikhare sthitah.*[1] This.spot may be identified with Tīrthahaḷḷi mentioned both in the *sthaḷa-mahatmyas* of the Karnataka as well as those of Tuḷuva, and not with Mount Dilly, as remarked by Wilson long ago.[2] As to the place where Paraśurāma finally retired, we are told that it was the Mahendra mountain on the southern seashore. This was no other than the most southerly spurs of the Travancore hills

1. *Sahyadri-kdnda Uttarardha,* **Ch. VI. \. 37, p. 325.**

2. **Wilson,** *Viṣnu Purdna* **p. 404, n. 21. It is not mentioned anywhere, as Wilson seems to think, that Parasurama shot his arrows over the site of modern Kerala. Wilson writes further in the same connection .—" It seems likely that we have proof of the local legend being at least as old as the beginning of the Christian era, as the Mons Pyrrhus of Ptolemy is probably the mountain of Paraśu or Paraśu Rama." *Ibid.* See also Wilson, *Mack. Coll.*, I. p. xciv. Rice repeats this in his *My. Gaz.*, I. p. 276, n. (3) (1st ed.) Mount Paraśu mentioned by Wilson cannot be traced anywhere in the topographical lists known to history. On Mount Dilly or Delly, read *J. R. AS.* for 1922, p. 166, seq ; *ibid,* for 1923, pp. 83-4 ; *ibid* for 1924, pp. 257-8. Ptolemy mentions Purrhus or the Red Hills. *Ptolemy,* p. 53. (Mc-Crindle, Calcutta, 1885).**

still called by that name from where Hanumān is said to have leaped on to Laṅkā.[1]

Now we come to the main part of the story *of* Parasurama with which we are concerned, *viz.,* the acquisition of a large stretch of country from the ocean by him, his alleged division of the land into seven districts one of which was called Tuḷuva, and the distribution of these seven provinces among the Brahmans, as given in the *Sahyādri-kāṇḍa* and in the traditional accounts of Tuḷuva called the *Grāmapaddhati.* Thus in the *Sahyadri-kanda* :—

*Brahmananaṃ tatah prthvi danaṃ dattva-yatha-vldhih* I
*Navlnaṃ nirmitaṃ kṣetraṃ S'urpārakaṃ anuttamaṃ* II
*Vaitaranya daksine tu Subrahmanyah-tatha-uttare* I
*Sahyat-sagara-paryantam S'urpakdraṃ-vyavasthitarp* II [3]

This would make the country reclaimed from the ^ea one hundred *yojanas* in length and three *yojanas* in breadth from the Vaitaraṇī (near Nāsik) in the north to Subrahmaṇya in the south. The faithfulness of the authors of *Skanda Paraṇa* to one detail given in the *Mahābhārata* is apparent when we read in the above

1. *Rdmdyaṇa,* **Kiskindha-kaṇḍa, Sarga *61,* vv. 37, 42, pp. 1692-3. A more exact location of Mahendra is given in the same epic where it is expressly stated to be in the south. Sarga, 41, vv. 16, 20, p. 1607 (Mudholkar, Bombay, 1915). Mahendragiri lies a few miles from Nagercoil. It was here on the Mahendragiri that on June 2, 1935, out of the three coolies who had been to that hill, was crushed by a wild elephant, as was reported in the *Times of India,* Bombay, dated June 12, 1935.**

2. ***Sahyaḍn-kanḍ.*** **Uttar Ch. V I . vv. 23-25.**

extract that this excellent and newly created place was christened Surpāraka district. This was the name, as we have noted above, given to the new province in the *S'āṅti Parva.*

We may observe here that the *Grāmapaddhati* of Tuḷuva, based to some extent as it was on the *Sahyādn-kanda,* also confirms the detail concerning the length and breadth of the new province but adds a few more details which were obviously the outcome of indigenous intellect. Thus one version of the *Grāmapaddhati* depicts Paraśurāma as having taken his stand on the Simha-written in some versions *Samya*-mountain which is evidently an error for Sahya mountain ; and of having secured a stretch of territory three *yojanas* in extent from the Sirhha mountain and thirty *yojanas* from Kanyākumārl to Triyarhbaka. A more accurate version of the same work ascribed to one Bhattacarya, gives the length of the province as one hundred *yojanas f*rom Nāsik in the north to Kanyakumarl in the south ; and three *yojanas* in breadth from the Sahya mountain to the western sea.[1]

The *Sahy&dri-kāṇḍa* tells us also that Jamadagnya created the Sapta Koṭiśvara *tirthas* with which we are not concerned here.[2] In a later passage we have the

1. In the version summarized by Wilton, we arc informed that Panisurama threw his axe from Gokarna to Kumari, and the retiring ocean yielded him the coatt of Malabar belov\ the latitude of 15 degrees. Wilson, *Mack. Coll.,* I. Inter, pp. xciv-xcv. Wilson confounds here Tuluva proper with Malabar. B. A. S.

2. *Sahyadri-kanda* Uttar, I. vv. 51-53, p. 305,

statement that he gave twelve *grāmas* to Brāhmans :—

*Nissārayitum-ambunām-ālayam sagaram tadā* I
*Grāmānām dvādasānāṇ tu parimāṇena Bhārgavah* II [1]

And then we have the names of the famous seven divisions of the new land given thus:—Keraḷa, Tuḷunga (i.e., Tuḷuva evidently), Haiva, Saurāstra, Koṅkana, Karahāṭa, and Karnāṭaka.[1,] These were the well known Sapta Koṅkaṇas of western India.

While the fact of his having reclaimed the Surpāraka province from the ocean and of his having established the Sapta Kotiṣvaras dividing certain tracts into twelve *grāmas* amongst Brahmans is thus narrated in the epics and the *Purāṇas,* it is not told anywhere that he formed the seven districts mentioned above. The epics and the *Purāṇas*—excluding the *Sahyādri-kSnḍa*—do not speak *at* the Sapta Koṅkaṇas as having been created by him. To the absence of this important detail in the *Purāṇas,* we may add two considerations to prove that the Sapta Koṅkaṇas cannot be ascribed to Paraśurāma at all. In the elaborate description of the activities ot Kārtavlrya and of his sons, and of the discomfiture which Paraśurāma suffered at the hands of Dasaratha's son Rama, as given by Kalidasa, whose acquaintance with the traditional origin of a part of the western coast we have already seen, no mention is made of the Sapta Koṅkaṇas at all. On the other hand, Kālidāsa merely informs us that Paraśurāma had given the whole earth bounded by the ocean to the deserving

**1 & 2.** ***Ibid,*** **Ch. V I . v. 42, p. 326; v. 46-7, p. 326.**

(Brahmans). Thus does Paraśurāma himself tell Rāma:—Even the opposite of victory (ï.e., defeat) inflicted by thee—the Primeval Being—is certainly agreeable to me who have reduced to ashes the enemies of my father and who have made over the whole earth bounded by the oceans to the deserving :—

*Bhasmasāt-kṛtaoatah. pitṛ-dviṣaḥ. pātrasāt-ca vasudhāṃ sasāgāram* I

*Āhitah jaya-viparyayo'pi me s'laghya eva paramesthina tvayā* II [1]

The absence of any reference to the creation of the Sapta Koṅkaṇas by Paraśurāma in the work of Kālidāsa proves that the legend of Sapta Koṅkaṇas must have originated after the poet's time, i. e., after the fifth or the sixth century A.D.

Another consideration which goes to confirm the above assertion is the diversity of opinion among the writers of the story as regards the names-of the districts that comprised the Sapta Koṅkaṇas. The *Sahyadri-kaṇḍa* includes among the Koṅkaṇas the name Tuluṅga. Such a variant of the name Tuluva is not met with in any of the hitherto discovered historical records or traditional accounts of that district. Instead of Hayve mentioned in the *Sahyādri-kāṇḍa,* we have Govarāṣṭra in other accounts. Saurāṣṭra of the same *Purāṇa* is called Varaḷatta in other versions.[2] And instead of Karnāṭa, other accounts add Barbara.[3] Fur-

**1. *Raghuvathsa,* X I . 86. See also *ibid,* vv. 64-67 for the story of Kartavirya.**

**2 & 3. Wilson, *Asiatic Researches* XV. p. 47, (n). See also *Bombay Gazetteer,* I. P. I I . p. 283, n. (5).**

ther, the Sapta Koṅkaṇas given in some southern accounts contain the names Virāṭa and Marāṭha instead of Karnāṭa and Saurāṣṭra mentioned in the *Sahyādrikāṇḍa.*[1] This confusion is carried further in the *Keralotpatti* some versions of which practically deny the Sapta Koṅkaṇas altogether. They bring forward an altogether new division of the ancient units thus :— Tuḷuva, Mūṣika, and Keraḷa.[2]

The unknown writer of a work called *Prapahcahṛdayam,* the date of which is unfortunately not determinable, confirms the existence of the above three names but also adds others to make up the Sapta Koṅkaṇas. After describing the seven mountain ranges—Ṛkṣavat, Mahendra, Vindhya, Malaya, Sahja, Suktimat, and Pāriyātra, the work continues to give a brief notice of Laṅkāpurl, and then speaks of the land called *Paras'uraṁa-bhūmi* thus :

*Tatra Malaya-dvipa-madhyavartino Malaya-parvatasya-madhyama-s' ikhare Lankapurl* I *sa prasiddhatara Sahyapade Paras'uraṃa-bhumih sa Sapta- Konkanakhya Kupa ka-Kerala-Mūsika-Aluva-Pas'ukonkana-Parakonkana hhedena daksina-uttara-āyāmena ca vyavasthitā.**

How *six* divisions could be termed *Sapta* Koṅkanas passes beyond one's comprehension.

1. Gundert, *Malayalam-English Duty* , q.

2. Taylor, *Cat Ran* . 1. p 667. Another Kerala tradition makes Parasurama, a Pandya ruler, and Ceruman Perumal contemporaries ' *Ibid.* I I I . pp. 166-7.

3. *Prapancahrdoyam* pp 3-4 (Ed by Ganpat Sastri, Trivandrum SU. Series).

Nevertheless this account given in the *Prapañca-hṛdayam* is important in two ways :—Firstly, it confirms our surmise that there was never any uniformity in the mind of early writers as regards the exact nomenclature of the Seven Koṅkaṇas; and secondly, it gives another and an equally historical name of Tuluva-Aluva-which, as will be seen in the following pages, was used in those times to denote not only the dynasty that ruled over Tuluva but the province as well.

## 4. VERACITY OF THAT PART OF THE ABOVE STORY RELATING TO THE SAPTA KONKAṆAS EXAMINED

Inscriptional evidence leads us to the conclusion that the legend of the creation of the so-called Sapta Koṅkaṇas may have become popular in the eleventh century A.D. It is true that in some inscriptions of the early times we meet with the names of the component parts that made up the Sapta Koṅkaṇas. Thus, for instance, in a copper plate grant of the Gaṅga ruler Mārasiṁha, assigned to A.D. 786, Varāṭa-deSa in the north is said to be the country from which Srīdhara Bhaṭṭa, grandfather of the famous disputant Vādighaṅ-ghaḷa Bhaṭṭa, hailed.[1] Hayve is mentioned in a record dated about A.D. 991 as having contained a temple dedicated to the goddess Guṇḍadabbe.[2] We may also

1. *My. Archl. Rept.* for 1921, p. 23.

2. *E. C.* VIII. Sb. 479 p. 81. In A.D. 1047 Hayve was under the *Mahdmangalesvara* Camunda Rayarasa. It was conquered by the Kajacuriya general KeSirāja in A.D. 1159 *E. C.* V I I . Sk. 123, p. 93.

note here that three of the seven famous divisions are mentioned in a later record of the reign of king Harihara Rāya II. It relates that Mallapa Oḍeyar was in Saka 1308 (A.D. 1386-7) the viceroy over the Tuḷu, Hayve, and Koṅkaṇa kingdoms with his capital at Bārakūru.[1]

But the Seven Koṅkaṇas seem to have sprung into fame in the Karnāṭaka records from the middle of the eleventh century A.D. onwards. It is said of the Western Cālukya monarch Ahavamalla Trailokyamalla in a record dated A.D. 1054 that he terrified and forced to obey the Seven Koṅkaṇas and the Seven Male which were united together.[2] The Kadarhba king Kirti Deva is said to have subdued the Seven Koṅkaṇas as if in mere sport, in a record dated A.D. 1077.[3] But in circa A.D. 1076 Bhoja Deva is said to have conquered the Koṅkaṇa. No mention is made of the Sapta Koṅkaṇas in this record.[4]

An ingenious explanation regarding the creation of the Sapta Koṅkaṇas by Paraśurāma is given in the following record dated A.D. 1112-13 which, while tracing the origin of the great feudatory family of the Pāṇḍyas, alludes thus to the achievement of Parasurama :—" In the Krta *yuga* to the accomplisher of his desires Jamadagni, the husband of Reṇukā, was born

1 154 D of the *Epigraphical Report of the Southern Circle* for 1901; *South Indian Inscriptions,* VII., No. 351, p. 209.
2. *E. C.* VII., Sk.118, p. 85. 3. *E.* C. VIII. Sb. 262, p. 42.
4. *E.I.* XI. p. 181.

the powerful bearer of the *Paras'u* (or axe), the slayer of the son of Krtavirya, who murdered his guru. And twenty-one times slaying all the kings in the world, he bestowed the circle of the earth as far as the ocean upon the Brahmans (*dharani-devar),* but considering that he should not dwell in the property of the Brahmans, he turned back the sea with the tip of his bow, the son of Reṇukā, praised by the learned. Having left not even space *(kaṇa)* in the place occupied by the western ocean, that hero obtained from the favour of Phaṇi-karikaṇa (Siva) the Seven Koṅkaṇas as his abode. To the lady Korikaṇa country thus created by Paraśurāma, Hayve was like her *kahkaṇa* (or bracelet), in which as the beautiful chiet gem shone forth Sisugali "—the capital of the Pandyas of Ucchangi :—

*kṛta-yugadol. Jamadagnige krtakrtiyang ogedu Rer.ukl-patig aṅgî-* I

*krta-guru-vadhanam vadhiysi Kriaviryatmajanan ati-balam Paras' udharaṃ* II

*dharaṇl-mamjaladol. dharābhujaran wppatt ondu sū\ kondu tad-* I

*dharani-maṇdalamam samasta-dharan'i-dcvarye vārddlu antikam-* Il

*haraṁ-iit-alli dharāmara-svaijol ·iralh aṅg endu pog-otti sā-\ garamam capada korppinol budha-nutam s'ri-Renukī-naṇdanam.* II

*kana-matrodakaman iralk anam lyade pas'cimabdhi teged eḍayol Kon-* I

*kaṇa-saptakamam. Phaṇi-kaṅkaṇa-varade nijās' rayārthaṃ ā-vibhu paḍedaṃ* II

*aṅtu Paras'urāma sṛṣṭi enisida*
*Kohkaṇa dhātrl-vaniteya kaṅkaṇad eseva Hayveyol Sisugali...*[1]

Certain considerations may be levelled against this interesting record of the times of the great Western Cālukya monarch Vikramāditya VI. In the first place, the record speaks of Reṇukī, while the recognized form of the name, as Rice correctly remarked, is Reṇukā. Secondly, the poet who has thufc invented a new name for Jamadagnya's mother, calls the Brahmans *dharaṇī-bhuvar,* a singular epithet which, while no doubt being in conformity with the traditional high status assumed by the priestly class, suggests nevertheless that, in this particular instance, it may have been used for reasons other than those of mere Brahmanical sanctimony. Thirdly, Para^urāma is described by the scribe as turning the ocean by the tip of his bow. Here we have a peculiar detail which is not mentioned in any account of that hero. The ingenious poet brings in a fourth point which conclusively proves that he was inventing the story with an ulterior motive. He says that Siva gave the land to Para^urāma. But we have seen that, both according to the *Sahyadri-kanda* and the traditional accounts of

1. E. C, VII. Sk. 99, p. 65, text, p. 183, 11. 14-17. See also My. *Inscr.* p. 83 where the same record is dated A.D. 1112. Read also *Bombay Gaz.,* I. P. II. p. 283 (n). Cf. *Kavicarite,* I. p. 115 (1924),

Tuḷuva, it was the Ocean (Varuṇa) who relinquished the large tract of country from Nāsik to Kanyākumāri to Paraśurāma. Finally, the play upon the words *Phaṇikaṅkaṇa* and *kaṅkaṇa* makes one suspect that the originator of the story was more prone to eulogize the greatness of Phaṇikaṅkaṇa (Siva) and to show the ultra-Saivite bent of his mind than to hand down to posterity a trustworthy account of the origin of Parasurāma *kṣetra.* Indeed, the manner in which the inscription ends completely justifies our assumption that the poet who composed the above story was a confirmed Saivite:- *Gobbūra dhāraṇa-sārvabhauma Mallikārjuna-bhaṭṭaṃ sukavīndra-Ṣaṇmukhaṃ bhadraṃ astu-S'iva-s'āsanaya.*

If the above account of the " Universal Emperor of Mnemonics," as Mallikarjuna Bhatta is styled, were correct, we should have had it in the many epigraphs referring to the Seven Koṅkaṇas of the Karnāṭaka rulers. But, as is proved by the following inscriptions, there is not even the slightest reference to the above version or its variants in them.

Epigraphs relating to the Seven Koṅkaṇas are many. The Santara king Jayakesi, son of Vijayaditya, is said in an inscription dated A.D. 1149 to have ruled over the Seven Koṅkaṇas.[1] But in A.D. 1125-6 a stone tablet at Narendra represents him as governing the Kofikaṇa Nine-hundred, the Hayve Five-hundred and other provinces under the Western Cālukya

1. *E. C.* VII. Sk. 103, p. 74.

monarch Vikramaditya VI.[1] Jayakesi II, we may incidentally observe, was called *Koṅkaṇa-Cakravarti*, or the Emperor of the Koṅkaṇas.[2] Through the aid of Noḷamba, whose full name is not given in the epigraph dated about A.D. 1078, the Seven Koṅkaṇas became like bracelets *(Kaṅkaṇa)* to the same Western Cālukya Emperor Trailokyamalla Vikramāditya VI.[H] Vijaya Pāṇḍya Deva is described in records dated A.D. 1166 and A.D. 1168 to have subdued the Seven Koṅkaṇas as if in mere sport.[4]

The Seven Koṅkaṇas were conquered by the famous Hoysala ruler Viṣṇuvardhana Biṭṭiga Deva This is related in later inscriptions ranging from A.D. 1196 to A.D. 1224, of the times of the Hoysala rulers Ballāḷa Deva II and Narasiṁha Deva II. It is said in these epigraphs that when Biṭṭiga Deva appeared as a wrestler *(jaṭṭiga)* on the battle field, the Seven Koṅkaṇas cast away their weapons and fell into the sea/

Even in A.D. 1396 Bacaṇa Raya, son of Vīra Vasahta Mādhava, under the Vijayanagara king Harihara Rāya II, is called the reducer of the Seven Koṅkaṇas. '

We may here observe that the fame of the Seven Koṅkaṇas went far beyond the limits of Karnāṭaka king-

1. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the R. A. S.* IX. p. 265; Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dist.* p. 91. (1st ed.).
2. Fleet, *ibid.*
3. *E. C.* VII., Sk. 107, p. 79.
4. *Ibid, XI.* Dg. 5&39, pp. 25-6, 49.
5. *Ibid..* V I. Tk. 42, Tk. 45, pp. 109-110 ; *tbid,* X I. Dg. 25, p. 34. (The Seven Konkanas are also mentioned in A.D 1223. *My. Inscr.* p. 32.
6. *E. C.* VII. HI. 71, p. 173.

doms; and that like the rulers of the western and southern India, who were credited with the subjugation of the Sapta Koṅkaṇas, the kings of the extreme north were also reputed to have conquered them. Thus Kalhaṇa in his *Rājataraṅgiṇi*, while describing the *digvijaya* or world-conquest of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa of the Karkoṭa dynasty, writes thus :—"Then having his triumphal cheers sounded by the music of the ocean waves, he, the first *(apaś cima)* of conquerors, proceeded to the western regions. His shining majesty, on reaching the Seven Koṅkaṇas, dark with betel-nut trees, appeared like that of the sun with his (seven) horses." [1]

Kalhaṇa gives us a clue to the explanation of the term Sapta Koṅkaṇa. The splendour of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, who was bent on conquering the Seven Koṅkaṇas, appeared like the glory of the sun with his seven horses. In other words, that ruler of Kaśmīra is described to have undertaken the conquest of seven imaginary territories of western India, in much the same manner as many a Karnāṭaka king, with no doubt substantial claims for widespread conquests both in the Karnāṭaka and Tamil lands, is supposed to have subdued the Sapta Koṅkaṇas. The truth seems to be that the term Sapta Koṅkaṇa was purely conventional. It was used in as wide and unhistorical a sense as the expression the Seven Gaudas over which Kannara Deva is said to have ruled in A.D. 964; the Seven Male over

1. *Rājataraṅgiṇi*, IV., 158-9, pp. 136,142. (Stein's trans. Westminster, 1900).

which, as is narrated in an inscription dated A.D= 1024, Vīra Noḷamba reigned; the Seven Male and the Seven Koṁbu which were subdued by Viṣṇuvardhana Biṭṭiga Deva, as records dated A.D. 1134 and A.D. 1135 inform us; the Seven Islands in the middle of the ocean which are said to have trembled before Hoysala Narasiṁha I, as given in an epigraph dated A.D. 1169; and the Seven Kaliṅgas which were conquered, according to the Tamil historical narrative *Kaliṅgattu Paraṇi*, by the king of Vaindainagara, the Pallava feudatory of the Coḷa king.[1] We have elsewhere proved how significant the number Seven has been in the history of eastern thought.[2] The attempt made by Fleet, therefore, to include the Hayve or Payve Five Hundred (roughly modern North Kanara), the Koṅkaṇa Nine Hundred (modern Goa, which, however, he identifies with Revatī Dvlpa!) the Iriḍige country (modern Sāvaṅtavāḍi State and the Ratnāgiri districts),

1. *E. C.* XI. HI. 30, p. 119; *ibid*, XII. Gb. 34, p. 24; *gravana Belgofa Ins.*, No. 144, p. 187 (lsted.); *My. Archl. Rept.* for 1929, p. 137 ; *E. C*, VI. Kd. 51, p. 11; *I. A.* XIX. pp. 334-6. The seven islandb, the seven mountain chains, the seven days, the seven planets, and ihe seven horses of the sun are mentioned in a record of A.D. 1174. *E. C.* VII. Sk. 236, p. 135.

2. Cf. Saletore, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, I. pp. 123-4. See also *Satapatha Brahmana*, VI. Khanda, 1 Adhyāya, 1 Brāhmaṇa, p. 144. (SBE Vol. III) where Indra or Prājapati ia described to be composed of seven parts. See also *Raghuvaṁia*, I. 58. 68, XIII. 51. The number Seven has also been important in Buddhist literature. Read Cowell, *The Jātaka*, V. p. 167, VI. p. 200. The following references may also be read : *QJMS*, XV, pp. 116-24; XVI, pp. 263-83, XVIII, pp. 30-45, 94-105.

the Koṅkaṇa Fourteen Hundred (of the northern Silahāras, now represented by Kolābā and Thāṇa), and the Lāṭa country (which, according to Fleet, was the name given to Surat and Baroda) under the mythological denomination of Seven Koṅkaṇas seems to be both arbitrary as well as unhistorical.[1]

## 5. REFERENCES TO TUḶUVA IN THE EPICS AND THE PURAṆAS

The above explanation of the term Sapta Koṅkaṇa does not aid us in the history of Tuḷuva. All that we may venture to suggest is that in the early days when the recollection of a huge upheaval of the ocean was within the memory of mankind, Tuḷuva must have existed as a separate geographical division; and that it must have been of sufficient importance to have been included among the alleged creations of Jāmadagnya.* The absence of the term Sapta Koṅkaṇa in inscriptions of the ninth century and earlier, and the silence which Kālidāsa, for instance, maintains as regards the sup-

1. Fleet, *Bombay Gaz.*, I. P. I I . p. 283, (n). In the same note he says that the subject is capable of further elucidation, especially if the Koṅkaṇa is held to have extended beyond the Malabar district. The divisions, then, according to Fleet, would be :—1. Travancore and Cochin, 2. Malabar, 3. South Kanara, 4. North Kanara, 5. Goa, 6. Ratnāgiri, and 7. Kolāba, Thāṇa and Surat. As against this, we may note the following : In the first place, no inscription or tradition extends the Korikiṭṇ beyond Malabar. Secondly, the inscriptions hitherto discovered have never enlightened us on this purely hypothetical division. B. A. S.

2. On Parasurama's story, read, Rice, *My. Gaz.*, I. pp. 275-6 (1st ed.); I. *A.*, I I I . p. 191; Sturrock, *S.* C. *Manual*, I. pp. 9, 57.

posed seven divisions of a province the legendary origins of which, as we have narrated, he seems to have noted, prove beyond doubt that the story of the Sapta Koṅkaṇas may have originated after the times of Kālidāsa ; and that it received a tangible shape when the brilliant conquests of the Karnāṭaka monarchs in the middle of the eleventh century A.D. and onwards, gave ample scope to scribes and panegyrical writers to dwell on the number Seven and to apply it to many of the provinces of southern and western India.

But it must be confessed that Tuḷuva does not figure either in the *Rāmāyaṇa* or in the *Mahābhārata* as a district of political importance; and that even in some of the *Purāṇas*, as will be seen presently, no mention is made of its individual existence at all. We may account for this by saying that in the times of the epics, the Tujuvas, while they had made themselves acquainted with their neighbours the Karnāṭaka people, had not acquired any political status worthy of note ; and that some of the writers of the Purāṇas were evidently ignorant of the activities of the Tuḷuvas whose country, as will be shown at once, was not devoid of places of pilgrimage of considerable antiquity. One of these was Gokarṇa which, as we have already seen, was one of the seventeen *Tirthas* established by Parasurama within the limits of Tuluva. It was at Gokarṇa that, according to tradition, the image which Rāvaṇa brought from the mountain called " Coila ", with the intention of carrying it off to I^anka,

got transfixed at the place where it now stands.[1] Another spot is Pātāḷa-Laṅkā which, as Rice remarked, was in Kanara.[2] It is doubtful whether this is to be identified with Vaja-Laṅkā (Vaḷa-Laṅke), a suburb of Mulki in Tuluva.[3] The hill Kunjaragiri located in the south in the *Rāmayaṇa* and hitherto unidentified,[4] was no other than the Kufijāragiri spoken of above as a holy place near Uḍipi, associated with the memories of Parasurama. It is mentioned in the *Bṛhatsamhita* as a *des'a* but under a slightly different name Kuñjaradari, and located in the same work after Kaccha and before Tāmraparṇa.[5] The evidence of *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* agrees with that of the *Markandeya Purana* to be cited presently.

Certain names of rivers, hill-tops, and places mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* bear a strong similarity to those found in Tuḷuva. In the topographical list given in the *Bhisma Parva*, a people called Utūlus are mentioned after the Abhisāras and before the Saivalas. We do not know whether this name has to be referred to the Tuḷus. Neither are we

1. Buchanan, *A Journey.*, I I I . p. 166 ; Burgess-Cousens, *Revised List of Antiquities*, pp. 190-191.

2. Rice, *My. Gaz.*, I. p. 183.

3. Vaja-Lahke is one of the seventy.seven islands which, according to Tuluva tradition, formed a part of the Ghorāstra mentioned above. Cf. Hegde, *Caritre*, p. 41. Was Vaḷa-Laṅke a corruption of Vujayida-Lahke which in Tuju means " Within Lanke" ? B. A. S.

4. *Ramayana* Kisk.kanda, XL. v. 35, p. 166. (Bombay, 1911); *Mark. Pur.* p. 367, n.

5. *Brhatsamhita,* Ch. XIV. v. 16, p. 51 (Calcutta, 1880). It is also mentioned by Alberuni, *India*, I. p. 301. (rev. ed.)

in a position to assert whether the Prācyas placed after the Keralas and before the Muṣikas in the same *Parva,* were in any way connected with the Tuḷus.[1] Among the *seven kula parvatas* described in the same list, we have of course Sahya, the eastern boundary of Tuḷuva. The Kumārl river mentioned after the Vṛṣasābhayā and before Ṛṣikulyā in the same context bears a strong resemblance to the Kumārl (Kumāradhārl) of Tuḷuva,[2] although it must be admitted that there are greater reasons for identifying it with its namesake in Bihar.[3] The Kumari is mentioned in the *Agni* and *Markandeya Purāṇas,* too, where it is said to rise in the Suktimāo mountains.[4] The *Padma Paraṃa* likewise speaks of it but in manner to justify one's doubt that there mfcy have been some confusion in the mind of the compilers of the *Puraṇas* between the rivers that flowed in the north and those in the south. For the *Padma Purana,* following the *Bhiṣma Parva,* no doubt, locates the Kumarl after the Vṛṣasā (ka) and before Ṛṣikulyā, in the north. But the same *Parana* groups the Kumari and the Sukumārī together with the MahānadI and the Sita, and describes them as flowing in the S'aka-dvipa.[5]

1-2. *Bhisma Parva,* Sec. IX. pp. 29-30.

3. Dey identifies the Kumārī and the Sulaimānī with the Kaorhari which rises in the Suktimat in the Bihar subdivision near Rajgir. *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India,p.* 107 (2nd ed. London, 1927).

4. *Agni Purdna,* Ch. 118, v. 7, p. 162. (Poona, 1900) ; *Math Pur.* pp. 305-6.

5. *Padma Purana,* Vol. I, Ch. VI. v. 31, p. 9; Ch. VIII. vv. 30-31, p. 12. (Poona, 1893).

The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* too places the Kumārī in the same *dvipa* but mentions another river—the Naḷini which recalls the Naḷinī of Tuḷuva.[1] The *Vāyu Parāṇa* and the *Matsya Purāṇa* likewise mention the Kumārī but uncter the name Sukumārī.*

The *Vayu Purana* mentions Indrakila which is the ancient name of Aḍūru, a village seventeen miles east of Kāsaragōḍu, where there is an old sculptured Siva temple fabled to have been founded by Arjuna. It is now in ruins but is said to have been repaired about five hundred years ago.[3] According to Tuḷuva tradition, Maṇipura, an island which lies on the way from Uḍipi to Haṅgārakaṭṭa, is said to have been the Maṇipura which Arjuna visited on his way from

1. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa,* II, pp. 127, 176. If the word *dvipa* is to be interpreted in the sense of a *doab* as suggested by Pargiter, *(Mark Pur.* p. 364, n.), and if the Śaka-dvīpa could be identified with Tuluva., which, we confess, is a question that is beset with considerable difficulties, one may venture to say that the seven rivers of the Saka-dvīpa-the Sukumāri, the Kumāri, the Nalini, the DhenUkā, the Iksū, the Veṇukā, and the Gabhasti—bear much resemblance, as to their names, to the seven rivers of Tuluva—the Netravati (which is joined by the Kumāri below the Ghats), the Sāmbhavi, the Malāpaḥ, the Sītā, the Naliṇi, the Nandini, and the Suktimaṭi. But this is a purely hypothetical consideration. B.A.S.

2. *Vāyu Purāṇa,* Ch. XLIV. v. 108, p. 138 (Poona, 1905); *Matsya Purāṇa,* P. I, Ch. CXIV. 20-32, p. 308.

3. Wilson located Indraklla on Rāmagiri. *Asiatic Researches,* VIII. p. 334; *Orient Magazine,* II. p. 186 seq.; Srinivasa Hegde, *Caritre,* p. 264; Sewell, *Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Madras Presidency,* I. p. 238. But Indraklla is also the name of the hill in Bezwada where Arjuna's fight with Siva, disguised as a Kiraṭa* took place. A stone inscription ascribed to the ninth century A. D. confirms this. *Ep. Rep. of the Southern Circle* for 1916, p. 149.

Mahendra in the south, while going to Gokarṇa in the north.[1] About a mile and a half to the east of Uḍipi lies the village of Indrāṇi, also known as Indraḷḷi. The *sthala mahatmya* of this locality says that Arjuna spent a few days here and was carried aloft to Amarāvatl by Indra. Hence the name Indralḷi (Indra-haḷḷi). The above places which are supposed to have been visited by Arjuna leave out of account numerous stones, caves, and wells alleged to have been constructed by the Pāṇḍavas in the course of their exile.[3]

The *Mārkanḍeya Parāṇa*, however, speaks of three important hill tops of Tuluva : Puspagiri, Kutasaila, and Kunjara (giri). The Puspagiri located in that work after Paṇḍara and before Durjayanta may be identified with Puṣpagiri ( 5,667 feet high ), on which stands the famous temple ot Subrahmanya in Tuḷuva.[1]

1. *Adi Parva,* Ch. CCXIX, pp. 601-2. There is also a Maṇipura in Kalinga and another one in Mysore. Wilson, *Visnu Purḍna,* pp. 403-4; *E.I.,* IV. p. 340. Maṇipura was the ancient name of Bhaṭkaḷ. Burgess-Cousens, *Revised List.,* p. 194.

2. As, for instance, the Pāṇḍava caves at Kadri, near Mangalore ; the collection of five *Tirthas* in the temple of Somesvara at UlIala, four miles and a half south of Mangalore ; Ulūpe at the foot of the Ghats which, according to some, was so named after Ulūpi, the daughter of the Nāga king, and the wife of Arjuna. B. A. S.

3. Pargiter, *Mark. Pur.,* pp. 284, 290 ; Sturruck, *S. C. Manual,* I. pp. 11-12, IL p. 271; Vogel, *Serpent Lore in India,* pp. 272-3'; *Imperial Gazetteer,* XXIII, p. 115;/. *A.,* VII. p. 42. There is also a Puspagiri in the Cuddappah district. *E. I.* III. p. 24; Bowsing, *Eastern Experiences,* p. 89 (Lond. 1872). This Puṣpagiri is mentioned in the above list in the *Mark. Pur,* by its common name &riparvata, and hence it is very unlikely that it would have been twice named in

In the same *Purāṇa* mention is made of Kūṭaśaila after Gomanta and before Kṛtasmāra.[1] This was no other than the well known hill top Kūṭaśaila, also called as KuḍaSādri (4,400 feet), seventeen miles from Kundāpūru.' The same work locates the people of Kañci, the Tilangas ( Telungus? Tulungus ?), and those who dwTell in Kuñjaradarī, Kaccha (Cochin ? ), and Tāmraparṇi in the Tortoise's right flank.[8] The mount Kuñjara referred to here is no doubt the same hill we have mentioned above as being one of the famous hills near Uḍipi on which the temple of Reṇukā stands, and as having been mentioned in the *RamSyaṇa* and the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*. We may also note here that one of the rivers described in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* may perhaps with some reservations be identified with its namesake

---

**the same context. Our identification of Puspagiri with the hill-top of that name in Tuḷuva is, therefore, fully justified. The PaṇḍaṬa referred to in the *Mdrkaṇ4eya Puraṟą* was no other than the ḥillock on which the celebrated temple of Viuhala in Pandharpur stands. This justifies my identification of Paṇḍarâdri mentioned in the PândararigapaḶli plates of king Avidheya. Read the *Antiquity of Paṇḍharpur*, J. H. Q. X I . pp. 771-778. B. A. S.**

**1. *Mark.* Pur., p. 290.**

**2. Sturrock, *ibid*, I. pp. 11-12. Bowring gives 4, 111 feet as the height of KoḍaSādri. *Eastern Experiences*, p. 133. We may note here that there is another Kūtaśaila, also known as Kōtyamale or Kōḍyamale, in Kārañje, about eight miles east of Baṇtwāl in Tujuva. How the famous group of hills in Tujuva—Kudremukh or Kotekan (6,173 feet), Midge Point (6,177 feet), and Funk Hill (6,207 feet). were known to the compilers of the Puranas, cannot be made out. On these read Sturrock, *ibid*, pp. 11-12. Bowring gives the height of Kudremukh as 6,100 feet. Bowring, *ibid*, p. 151.**

**3. *Mark. Pur.*, p. 367.**

in Tuluva. This is the Suktimati.[1] It may be identified with the Suktimatī of Tuḷuva, also known as the Gahgavāḍi or the Gaṅgoḷḷi or the Gurget.[3] It flows by S'aṅkaranārāyaṇa,' and is called further down Hālāḍi Hoḷe.

The *Brahmāṇḍa Paraṇa* also mentions the Kūṭas'aila after Kūṭaka and before Tuṅgaprasta, and the Pūṣpagiri after Hariparvata and before Jayarita; while the *Vāyu Purāṇa* locates the Kūṭaśaila after Kāru, and Puṣpagiri after Godhanagiri and before Ujjayanta.[3]

In all likelihood the river Payoṣṇi placed after the Vitastā and before the Devikā in the *Bhīṣma Parva* was the Payasvāṇī or Candragiri river or Tuḷuva.[4] The *Padma Purāna* evidently follows the *Bhiṣma Parva* when it locates the Payoṣṇī after the Vitastā and before the Devikā. But the same *Purāṇa* places the Payoṣṇī after

1. *Mařk. Pur.*, pp. 297-8. Pargiter identified the Suktimati with the ŠuktimatT on which stood the capital of Cedi. On the Suktimān mountain which Cunningham identified with the hill range south of Sehoa and Rānker, read, *Arch. Sur. of India,* XVII. pp. 24, 69. Here Cunningham also identifies the Suktimati with the Mahanadl. But in the *Bhisma Parva* the Suktimati is located after the Mahanadl and before the Anangā. *Bhiṣma Parva,* IX. p. 31. Pargiter rejected the identification of the hill-top Suktimat as given by Cunningham. *Mark. Pur.* p. 285, n. According to Dr. R. C. Majumdar the Suktimān mountains are the Suleman range in the Hindu Kus group. *Proceedings of the Second All-India Oriental Conference,* pp. 609-612.

2. Cf. Aygal, *Daḳsina Kannaḍa Jilleya Prdcina Itihdsa,* p. 2; Sturrock, *S. C. Manual,* I. p. 12.

3. *Brahmāṇḍa Puraṇą* in *Asiatic Researches,* VIII. p. 334 ; *Vdyu Puraṇa,* Ch. 45, v. 92, p. 137. (Poona, 1900).

4. *Bhiṣma Parva,* IX. pp. 29-30.

the S'arāvati and before the Bhīmā,[1] thus justifying our assumption that the Payoṣnī was perhaps meant for the Payasvānī of Tuḷuva. But the *Matsya Purāṇa* describes it as flowing from the Vindhya mountain.[2] Whatever may be the difficulty in our identification of this river, we see that the name Payoṣnī and Payasvānī bear close resemblance to each other.

The *Bhavisyottara Purāṇa* has a long account to give of the origin of the longest river of Tuḷuva, the Netrāvatī. It is said that when once the powerful giant Hiraṇyākṣa carried away the earth to Pātāḷa or the nether regions, the gods in fear ran to Viṣṇu who was then living in the Sveta-dvlpa. In order to appease the gods, Viṣṇu took the shape of a boar, killed the giant and saved the world. When He was resting on the Veda Pāda Parvata, the right tusk of the boar broke and there gushed forth the river Bhadrā. From the left tusk, which was longer than the other, there sprang the sister river Tuṅgā. Simultaneously a third stream issued from the eyes of the boar, and this was the Netrāvatī. The two former taking different courses, unite in the east at Kuḍali, running thenceforth under the name of Tuṅgabhadrā. While the third one-the Netrāvatī-goes in the opposite direction below the

1. *Padma Purāṇa*, Vol. I. Ch. VI. v. 13, 16. p. 8.

2. *Matsya Purana*, P.I. Ch. IV. vv. 2032, p. 308 (Taluqdar). The *Agni Purāṇa* however **calls** it Payoṣnika **and places** it after the Tāp! and before Godāvari flowing frotn the Sahya. Ch. VII. v. 118, p. 162.

Ghats, and unites with the Kumār! river mentioned above.[1]

## 6. CLAIMS OF TDḶUVA TO ANTIQUITY

Not till we come to the epigraphical records of the Karnāṭaka kings of the early centuries of the Christian era, and to the accounts of foreign geographers of the same period, do we get any reliable data concerning the existence of Tuḷuva as an independent political unit. Before we deal with this part of the narrative, we may dispense with the attempts made by some to identify Tuḷuva with one of the principalities given in the Rock Edicts of Asoka. In the II. Rock Edict at Girnar, and in the II. Rock Edict at Kālsi, the name Satiyaputa is mentioned after the Pāṇḍyas and before the Ketalaputa ( Keralaputa ).[2]

Speculation has been rife as regards this word Satiyaputa. It has been imagined by some that the Satiyaputa mentioned in the Rock Edicts refers to Tuḷuva under the alleged name of Satyabhūmi. Some have attempted to connect the word Satiyaputa with

1. *Bhavisyottara Purdna* cited in I. *A.*, I. pp. 212-3. It is interesting to observe in this connection that both the rivers Tuṅgā and Bhadrā take their rise in the same tract, *viz.*, in the extreme west of Mysore, about 250 miles as the crow flies from Bangalore. This place is called Gahgāmūla. It is held sacred by the people. Now, this Gahgāmūla is exactly the same spot where the Suvarṇi river of Tuluva—which flowing past Puttige towards the east is called the Varāhanadi~-is said to originate. This locality is also known as Guruguñjemūla, B. A. S.

2. Hultzach, *Inscriptions of Aioka,* pp. 18, 29, seq.

the Sātvatas who are supposed to have occupied Tuḷuva.[1]

Wherever else the Satiyaputa of the Rock Edicts may be located, it cannot be identified with Tuḷuva. We shall see while dealing with the political history of the district, that the supposed identity of the Sātvatas (and of the Cuṭus) with the rulers of the district does not rest on any historical grounds.

Now, in regard to the other statement that the Satiyaputa of the Rock Edicts was the same as the Satyabhūmi of the early writers, and that it may be equated with Tuḷuva, we may observe the following:— On the strenġth of the Tamil classic *Ahnānūru* and the *S'ilappadikāram*,* which are said to be the products of the so-called Saṅgham age, it is asserted that Tuḷunāḍu was a separate province in the early centuries of the Christian era. In the *Aham* (294) the Tuḷunāḍu is located to the west of the Erumaināḍu (Skt. Mahiṣamaṇḍala) which lay immedialy to the north of Tamilagam or the Tamil country proper. The *Aham* (24), as the anthology of erotic subjects said to have been compiled by Uruttirasamman, under the patronage of the Pāṇḍya king Ugrapperuvuludi, is called, also informs

1. Cf. Saletore, *Indian Culture,* I. pp. 667-674. The following may albo be read in addition to the references given in *ibid,* p. 667, n. (1):- Bühler, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* XXKVII, p. 98, seq.; Bhandarkar, *J. Bomb. R.A.S.* XX. p. 398, (N. S.); Burgess identified Satiyaputa with Telingana. *Amaravati Siupa,* p. 3.

2. I am indebted to my friend V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar for these references in the *Aham.* B. A. S.

us that the Tuḷu country was occupied by the Kośars. From the epithet given to the KoSar in the Saṅgham works, *viz.* that they were addicted to the habit of speaking the truth, it is supposed that they can be identified with the Satiya (Satya) putas of the Aśokan Edicts. The Kośars, who attended the installation of the goddess Pattaṇi by the Cera king Seṅguṭṭuvan, as mentioned in the *S'ilappadikaram,* are imagined to have been the inhabitants of Tuḷuva. Since these events are assigned to the second century A. D., it is conjectured that Tuḷuva at that time was a separate political division having friendly dealings with the Tamil kingdoms.[1]

These attractive arguments deserve to be examined not only on the basis of the epigraphs and tradition concerning Tuḷuva but also with the aid of the very classical works which are assigned to the Saṅgham age in Tamil history. To start with, it may be said that the age of the Saṅgham poets itself is by no means a settled question.[3] Apart from this consideration, it is

**1. It is also asserted that Nannan, who is mentioned in *Aham* ( 13) as having been invited by the Kośar, and as having lost his State elephant, ruled over South Kanara and North Kanara in the middle of the second century A.D.. S. K. Aiyangar, *I. A.*, LIV, pp. 37-8; *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture,* p. 323. Kanakasabhai maintains that Māmulunār, who is supposed to have lived between A.D. 100-130, visited Tuluva! *The Tamils 1800 years ago,* p. 198. B.A.S.**

**2. This point will be discussed at some length in the writer's forthcoming work on Buddhism. For the present, read Dr. Barnett, *Journal of Indian History,* III. p. 137, seq See also Fleet, *JRAS* for 1910, p. 429; *QJMS.* III. p. 60.**

doubtful whether the nine poets, who are said to have made up the galaxy of the Saṅgham age, lived at one and the same time. Moreover it is permissible to question the validity of the statement of those who assign the first or the second century A. D. to the Saiigham poets, on ths strength of the Tamil classic *S'ilappadikaram.* If the Cera king Senguttuvan mentioned in the *Silappadikaram* is the same Cera king of Vafiji, the great Seṅguṭṭuvan, who is represented in the other Tamil gem *Maṇimekhalai* as having reduced all the land to the same condition as that of his owṛn hill territory, who is said to have marched at the head of his army up the banks of the Ganges, and wṛho celebrated victories by wearing the garland of *vahai,* then, it is doubtful whether the *S' ilappadikaram* can be assigned to the first or the second century A. D., and whether the statement made in it referring to the Koṣars, and, therefore, to the supposed occupation of Tuḷuva by those people, can be given much credence. For the *S'ilappadikaram* would then have to be placed posterior to the *Manimekhalai,* the date of which itself is still a matter of dispute. This would bring the age of the *S'ilappadikSram* to about A. D. 756.[1] If this age is accepted, we cannot credit the Koṣars with the occupation of Tuḷuva, since in the seventh century A. D., the Tuḷuvas had risen into prominence under an*indigenous royal family.

**1. This is the date assigned to it by the late Swamikannu Piḷḷai. Read *Epigraphical Report of the Southern Circle* for 1919, p. 92.**

Turning to the verse 294 of the *Aham* which speaks of Tulunadu as having been to the west of Erumai-nāḍu which some identify with Mysore, we may observe that there is no evidence to prove that in the early centuries of the Christian era, Mysore was ever called by that name.[1] Since the poets of the Saṅgham age do not speak of the earlier names by which the more famous parts of the Karṇāṭaka country were known—e.g., Kaḷabappu (mod. Candragiri hill), Punnāṭa, Kuṇṭala, etc.—, we may dispense with the assertion that the Mahiṣamaṇḍala refers to Mysore in the first or second century A. D. Hence, the assertion made in verse 294 of the *Aham* is not of much value for determining the antiquity of Tuḷuva.

We now come to the third argument based on the statements of the writers of the Saṅgham age, *viz.*, that the Kośars, who were given to the habit of speaking the truth, occupied Tuḷuva; that the land hence came to be known as Satyabhūmi or the country of truth speaking people ; and that this was no other than the Satiyaputa of the Asokan Edicts. These arguments seem to be plausible, especially when we take into consideration the explanation of the term Satiyaputa

1. Cf. Saletore, *Social and Political Life*, I. p. 40, n. (2). See also *E.* J., IV. p. 58, n. (2), We cannot conceive of A6oka sending two missionaries—Thera Mahadeva and Thera Rakkhita,—the former of whom was despatched to Mahisamaṇḍala, the latter to Vanavasi,—as given in the *Mahdvamso* (Geiger-Bode, *Mahdvamso*, p. 84) to one and the same country. The efforts of Rice to identity Mahiṣamaṇḍala with Mysore *(My. & Coorg*, p. 14, and *ibid*, n. (17), seem to be, therefore, futile. B. A. S.

offered by Drs. Lüders and Przyluski, iris., that the Pāli *puttai* Skt. *putra)* at the end of compounds frequently means "belonging to a tribe", and that the Sātvatas were the Sātakarṇis.[1] This would mean that Tuḷuva was the land inhabited by the Sātvatas ( Sātakarṇis ). It may also be argued that the Satiyaputa of the Rock Edicts is precisely the word Satyaputra occurring in the code of the legendary Tu|uva lawgiver Bhutāḷa Pāṇḍya, who is supposed to have lived in the first or second century of the Christian era, and to whom the law of inheritance through the female is ascribed. Further, it may also be suggested that one of the earliest inhabitants of Tuḷuva were the Koragars who are well known for their truthfulness, and whose word has become proverbial.[2]

These arguments, if considered sound, would settle once for all the question of the antiquity of Tuḷuva as an independent political unit in the early centuries A. D. But they are untenable on the following grounds :—The Koragars, who may be credited with the ownership of the land in Tuḷuva in some remote period of her history, were no doubt a tribe noted for their honesty and straight dealing. But, as we have shown elsewhere, the Koragars of Tuḷuva formed a branch of a wild tribe spread over the whole of

***k. Ltiders, *ZDMG* LVIII, p. 693, seq.; Przyluski, *JRAS* for 1929, p. 273, seq.; *IHQ,* IX, pp. 88-91 ; *J. Andhra H. R. Society,* IV, p. 49, seq.**

**2. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India,* III. p. 424.**

India.[1] The habit of speaking the truth is shared no doubt by the Koragars along with other aboriginal people who do not (figure in this treatise. Moreover, the Koragars do not seem ever to have been called Koṡars at all in their folk-songs. Further, there is no agreement among scholars as to where the Kosars settled. According to some, the Koṡars lived in the Korigunāḍu which corresponds roughly to the modern Coimbatore and Salem districts. Tuḷuva was never in any period of her history part of the Koṅgude^a. And it cannot be that the KoSars inhabited both the Koṅgudeṡa and Tuḷuva at the same time, since that would have given them some sort of political status which would have left its traces in history or legend. But the history of Tuḷuva is silent in regard to this point.

As regards the story of Bhutāḷa Pāṇḍya, we shall see in the course of this treatise that the story relating to him cannot be assigned to such an early age at all.

Finally, it may be asserted that in none of the epigraphical records of Tuḷuva is there the slightest reference either to the name Satyabhumi or Kosar or Sātvata or Sātakarṇi. We shall presently see that Tuḷuva was under a powerful indigenous dynasty which has left valuable records behind it.

We conclude, therefore, that much reliance cannot be placed on the occupation of Tuḷuva by the Koṡars in the early centuries of Christian era. It is nevertheless evident that when the Tamil writers wrote their

1. Cf. Saletore, *The Wild Tribes.*, p. 43, op. cit..

anthologies, the name of Tuḷuva had spread far into the Tamil land.[1] Indeed, the traditions of the Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam refer to the colonization of some parts of that country by the Tuḷuva Vellāḷers in the days of Kulottuṅga Coḷa Deva and of his son Adoṇḍai Cakravarti.[2] But these activities of the Tuḷu people refer to the tenth and the eleventh centuries A.D., when they had already become conspicuous in the annals of both the Tamil and the Karnāṭaka lands.

Foreign geographers are more informative than the Saṅgham authors concerning the important kingdom and ports in Tuḷuva in the early centuries A. D. We may venture to suggest here that if the evidence of the Greek-Kannaḍa Farce discovered so far back as 1899 at Oxyrhynchus in Egypt, and given at the end of this narrative, could be accepted, we should have a further proof of the importance of Tujuva in the history of India. It has been rightly maintained that the Barace of Pliny ( A. D. 23-A. D. 79 ) was no other than Basarūru, the Barcelore of mediaeval days.[3] Ptolemy (middle

1. On the history of the Korigudésa, read *Bpigraphical Report of the Southern Circle* for 1906, pp. 59-61 ; *ibid,* for 1911, p. 77. Read also Kanakasabhai, *The Tamils.*, p. 51,

2. Wilson, *Mack. Coll., 1.* pp. LXXXIII-LXXXIV; Caldwell, *A Comparative Grammar,* p. 36 (1875).

3. Bostock.Riley, *Pliny,* I. Intr. p. vii; II. pp. 38, seq., 46 seq.; Newbold, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* X. V. p. 226; Sewell; *Lists** I. p. 230; Sturrock, *S. C. Manual,* II. p. 242. But in Vol. I. p. 56, Sturrock doubts it. This town, we may incidentally observe, is said to derive its name from a ruler called Vibudhavasu. But he lived in A.D. 1244, as will be shown hereafter. On Basarūru, see *Hobson-Jobson,* p. 45 where it is said that town received its name from a fig tree.

of the 2nd century A. D.) speaks of a town called Maganur in the midst of the false mouth and the Barios.[1] What the latter word Barios stands for, it is difficult to say. But the false mouth (of the river) evidently refers to the dangerous place where the Netrāvatī meets the sea, and Maganur was no doubt Maṅga Ḷūru.

This was the same Mangarouth which Kosmos Indikopleustes, a merchant who adhered "strictly to truth", and who was the author of *Christian Topography* (middle of the sixth century A. D.), mentions as having been one of the five ports of what he calls "Male".[2] Elliot writes of Casiri as quoting a Ms. in which Mangalore is mentioned at the beginning of the seventh century A. D.[3]

1. Ptolemy, cited *inMobson-Jobson*, p. 552. Nitrias, a port mentioned by Pliny, was thought to have been the same as the Netrāvatī. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 111 (Lond. 1901). But Nitrias has also been identified with Bangkok, in North Kanara. Fleet, *Bombay Gaz.*, I. P. II. p. 2.

2. McCrindle, *ibid*, p. 161. Mangalore, we may observe, had risen to prominence by this time. It is mentioned in a grant assigned to A.D. 444. Rice, *Mys. Insc*, p. 297. The statement that a queen named Maṅgalā Devī built the town in the 4th century A.D. (Kavali Venkatarāmasvāmi, *Descriptive Sketches of the Cities of the Dekkan* p. 31, [1831]), is wrong. No such name is known to history. We shall see that the town of Mangalore owed its origin to Buddhist influence. It is spoken of in A.D. 968 and again in A.D. 1151. *E.* C. **VIII**, Sb. 464, Sb. 465, p. 78. B. A. S.

3. Elliot-Dawson, *History of h*
p.68,n. (4).

One of the most well known ports in Tuḷuva was Bārakūru, called Fakanūr and Bārakanūru.[1] This, it must be confessed, is not mentioned by the Greek geographers. It may be due to the fact that, as we shall see later on when we shall trace its history, Bārakūru came into prominence both as a commercial centre and as a provincial seat of the local rulers only from the eleventh century A. D. onwards.

While dealing with the inland towns of a people whom he calls pirates, Ptolemy speaks of Oloikhora.[2] This has been rightly identified with Alvakheḍa, the annals of which now deserve to be described in detail.

1. *Ibid,* p. 68. See also Elliot, *JRAS* for 1870, pp. 342-45.

2. McCrindle, *I. A.,* XIII. p. 367 ; Rice, *My. & Coorg.* p. 137. Ptolemy mentions a town called Byzantion. McCrindle, /. *A.,* XIII. p. 327. Fleet identified it with Vijayadurga in the Ratnāgiri district. *Dyn- Kan. Dist.* p. 8. n. (3). We may note that, according to Tuḷuva tradition, KundāpGru in northern Tuḷuva is also called Jayantipura or Jayantikā. Taylor, *Oriental Hist. Mss.* I I. p. 59. Jayanti-dvīpa was one of the creations of ParaSurāma in Tuḷuva. Hegde, *Caritre,* p. 42. Alberuni speaks of a Banavāsi on the sea coast. *India.,* I, p. 202 (Sachau, London, 1888). Banavāsi is called Jayantipura and Vaijayanti in inscriptions. Rice, *My. & Coorg.,* pp. 14, 21-3.

## CHAPTER II

# THE ĀLUPA DYNASTY

*Summary* :—1. Antiquity of the Alupa dynasty. 2. Derivation of the name Alupa and rejection of the fallacious theories concerning the Dravidian origin of the name and of their alleged trans-Ghat habitation. 3. Early Alupas : Māramma Aḷvarasar; Kundavarmarasa I; Aluva Guṇasāgara; Citravāhana I. 4. Civil war in Udayāvara: Citravāhana I *vs.* Raṇasāgara ; the latter *vs.* SvetaVāhana; the latter *vs.* Pṛthvīsāgara; Vijayāditya Alupendra. 5. Citravahana I I ; Aḷva Raṇañjaya; Dattāḷpendra Śrimāra; Kundavarmarasa I I ; Bankideva Alupendra I. 6. Mediaeval Alupas: Height of the Alupa power-Udayadityarasa; Pandya Paftiga Deva; Bhujahala Kavi Alupendra; (Sevyagellara); Alupa Jagadeva; Kulasēkhara Deva I; Nūrmmadi Cakravarti; Vibudhavasu; Vira Paṇdya Deva Alupendra; Nāga Devarasa; Bankideva Alupendra Deva I I. 7. The later Alupas and the Beginning of the Decline of the Alupa Power: Soyideva Alupendra; Vira Kulaśékhara Deva I I ; VIra Paṇḍya Deva I I ; Kulasēkhara Deva I I I ; Vira Pāṛujya Deva I I I ; Kulásekhara Deva I V. 8. Some chieftains: Kāntaṇa Māra Ajuva; Dēvannarasa; Mañjaṇa Komṇa. 9. Unidentified Alupa monarchs. Kavi Vimalāditya; Kumāra Jayasingarasa; Kulaśekhara. 10. Features of Administration under the Alupas: the King and his officials; Capitals; Municipal Corporations; Rural administration; Social solidarity; Army; and Taxation.

## 1. ANTIQUITY OF THE ALUPA DYNASTY

The Alupa dynasty controlled the destiny of Tuḷuvanāḍu from the early centuries of the Christian era till the middle ages. There cannot be any doubt that it was a family of considerable antiquity. It was a premature and partially correct statement which

Hultzsch made when he wrote that Alupa kings existed as a ruling family from the seventh to the eleventh century of the Christian era.[1] In stating thus he took into consideration the references to the Alupa kings only from the times of the Western Cālukya monarch Pulikesin II.[2] But their kingdom is mentioned, as will be presently stated, in a record of Pulikesin II's uncle and predecessor king Mangalesa. This reference to the Alupas when taken in conjunction with the mention of Oloikhora (Aluvakheḍa)^ by Ptolemy and with the inclusion of the Alupa kingdom among the Sapta Koṅkanas in the *Prapaficahṛdayam* which, as we have seen above, is no doubt a work of uncertain date, enables us nevertheless to assert that the Alupas indeed existed as a ruling family from about the second century A.D. onwards. The Halmiḍi stone inscription, as will be narrated in the next chapter, definitely takes the history of the Alupas to the fifth century A.D. A further statement which goes to prove their antiquity is, as we shall narrate anon, their having been coupled with another ancient family of the Karnāṭaka—

1-2. *E.* J., IX. p. 15.

3. The term Aluvakheda or Ajvakheda, as it is given in some inscriptions, evidently refers to the early days of Alupa history when the Alupa kingdom was only a *Kheḍa* or *Khefa,* a territorial subdivision mentioned in Karnataka epigraphical records after a *Nagara* but before a *Kharvafa.* Read Saletore, *Social and Political Life,* I, p. 292. But the *Vayu Purana* places the *Kheta* before a *Nagara. Vayu Purana* Ch. VIII. vv. 100, seq. p. 27 (Poona, 1905). The words Alupa is spelt variously thus—Aḷuka, Alupa. Alva, Alva and Aluva—in the inscriptions. B. A, S.

the Gaṅgas—in an inscription of the early half of the seventh century A. D. The Gaṅgas, like the Alupas, ruled from the second century A.D., their territory being confined to the western parts of modern Mysore.[1] The claims for antiquity to which the Alupas and the Gaṅgas are thus entitled in the above record of Pulikesin II are further corroborated in a later record also of the seventh century which not only classes the Gaṅgas and the Alupas together but characterizes them as ancient royal families which, as Rice correctly says, were entitled to special consideration. For this inscription also of a Western Cāḷukya ruler—Vinayāditya—styles the conquered royal families thus—*Āḷuva-Gaṅgādyaiḥ maulaiḥ samabhṛtyatfim nītaḥ.*

## 2. THE DERIVATION OF THE NAME ALUPA

The assertion of the Madras Government Epigraphist (Mr. G. Venkoba Rao) that the cognomen (Alupa) must be derived from the root *alu* (Tamil—al) meaning thereby to govern, seems, in our opinion, to be both arbitrary and unhistorical.[2] Hultzsch, and not Fleet, as Mr. Venkoba Rao writes, was the first to give us this derivation of the word Alupa.[3] But we cannot conceive of great rulers of the Karnāṭaka, as for example the Western Cāḷukyas, characterizing the Alupas by

1. Rice. *My.* & *Coorg*, p. 29. Mr. Govind Pai dates the commertcement of the Gaṅga rule in the south to A.D. 250. *Karṇaṭaka Historical Review*, II, p. 29.
2. *Ep. Reptt of the Southern Circle* for 1926-7, p. 106.
3. *E. I.*, IX, pp. 15-16.

the epithet *maulāḥ* and enlisting their co-operation as allies, had the Tujuva kings been only of inferior stock like those who traced their origin to a word signifying nothing but dependence. The erroneous nature of the argument put forward by the defenders of the above theory is apparent when we level two other considerations against it. The Dravidian derivation does not take into account the earliest variant of the name Ālupa occuring in inscriptions and the substantial evidence which both epigraphs and tradition go to prove it. And it rests on an alleged identity between the Alupas and minor local chieftains over the Ghats who possessed a similar name.

The earliest variant of the name Alupa is that which is given in the Mahākūṭa inscription of king Mangalesa dated A.D. 601-2. This epigraph relates that KIrtivarma I (A.D. 566-597) conquered a great many kings among whom were the Pāṇḍya, Cōḷiya, Aḷuka, and Vaijayantī.[1] The word Aḷuka is an epithet of Seṣa, chief of the serpent race; and, as Fleet rightly said, it may possibly denote the Nāgas, who in

1. Fleet, I. A., XIX. pp. 14, 19. Mr. George Moraes gives the date of the Mahākūta inscription of Mangaleśa as A.D. 567. *(Kadamba-Kula,* p. 75, Bombay, 1931). This error was committed by me in my thesis (p. 298) entitled the *History of Early Tuḷuva* which secured for me the Kasinath Telang Gold Medal and Prize from the Bombay University in 1928. Mr. Moraes's remarks concerning the Western Cālukyas and the Álupas *(Kadamba-kula,* pp. 75-78, 245) are nothing but a close following of my statements *(Thesis,* pp. 265, 298-300). The present treatise is an altogether new work, and has nothing in common with the thesis except a few facts here and there. B. A. S.

early times became included in the Cālukya dominions.[1] The Nāga origin of the Alupas which is thus suggested here is proved by two facts—the figure of a hooded serpent which is found in an effaced Alupa stone inscription in the Gollara Gaṇapati temple at Mangalore,[2] and the ultra-Saivite tendencies of which the Alupas have given abundant proof in their inscriptions. We may incidentally remark here that there are good grounds for justifying the appellation of Aiorum Regio (Ahi-deśa) given to Tuḷuva and Haiva by Ptolemy.[3]

The Dravidian derivation of the name Alupa rests on the alleged similarity between the Alupa rulers and others who bore a similar name. Mr. Venkoba Rao says, no doubt following Hultzsch, in the same connection that the Cāṅgalvas were similarly chiefs of Caṅganāḍ and Koṅgalnāḍ in the Kannaḍa country who flourishedjas feudatories in mediaeval times ; and

1. *Ibid.* pp. 14-5; Dalai, *A History of India from the Earliest Times, I.*, p. 206 (Bombay, 1924); Monier-Williams, *Samkrit-Eng. Diet,* p. 130.

2. Cf. Aygal, *Dak. Prdcina Itihdsa,* p. 66. A passage in the *Padma Purdna* may be said to refer to the Alupas. It runs thus :—

*Kokuftakdh tathd Colafi Kokand-Manivalavah*
*Samaṅgdh Kanakdh-ca-eva Kukurdṅgdra Mdrisdh.* II

*Padma Purdna,* Vol. I, Ch. VI, v, 55. p. 9 (Poona, 1893). The name *Maṇiavdlavdft* may be interpreted to mean *M aṇi-dlavafr, i.e.,* Phaṇi-ālavāḥ, the Aluvas of the Nāga race. This is in some measure supported by the variants of that name given in the same *Purdna-Mani-Vanakah,* and *Mani-Valukah,* and by the fact that these people are placed immediately after the Kolcanāh, *i.e.,* the Koṅkanas. B. A. S.

3. Wilson, Mack. *Coll,* p. 35(1832). *Infra,* Ch. V, Sec. 1.

that the Tamil word *nad-alvan* " has also the analogous signification of a petty chieftain ruling over a restricted tract of territory *(naḍu),* as in Nañji-nāḍ-āḷvan, etc."[1] This statement invalidates the evidence of inscriptions relating to the Alupas as given in Mr. Venkoba Rao's own collections and in those of his predecessors. The fact that, for instance, there were petty chieftains, like the Caṅgāḷvas, the Koṅgāḷvas, the Dattāḷvas, the Sallevāḷvas, and the Nāḍāḷvas over the Ghats is no argument to prove the Dravidian derivation of the word Alupa. Neither is the statement that because the Alupas were feudatories of the Western Cālukyas and of some other prominent Karnāṭaka rulers, we should trace their origin to the word signifying dependence—*āḷu.*

A few facts connected with the origin and history of Caṅgāḷvas, the Koṅgāḷvas, etc., would suffice to demolish this part of the fallacious theory. Rice pointed out the similarity in the name Alupa, as occurring in the records found in the Koppa and the Sohrab tālukas, to the name Caṅgāḷvas, and ventured to say that the Caṅgāḷvas of the west of Mysore and east of Coorg may have been a branch of the Alupas of Udayāvara. But he qualified his statement by saying that this was only a conjecture.* The Caṅgāḷvas claimed descent from a

1. *Ep. Report of the Southern Circle* for 1926, p. 106. It was Hultzsch who converted suppositions into facts, thus :—"Mr. Rice's volume contains many records of certain later families which seem to be connected with the ancient Alupas. These are the Cangalvas, Koṅgājvas, Naḍāḷvas, Sāntaras, and the rulers of Kalasá and Kaṟkaja." *E, J.,* IX. p. 16. Rice never wrote such statements at all"! B. *A.* S.

2. , Rice, *E.* C., IV, Intr., p. 16; *ibid,* V I , pp. 11-12.

king Caṅgājva who is supposed to have been a contemporary of Bijjalendra. The origin of the Alupas of Udayāvara is unknown, but it certaintly cannot be traced to Caṅgāiva. The territory of the Caṅgāḷvas was Caṅganāḍ (mod. Huṇsur tāluka in the Mysore State). The kingdom of the Alupas was a Six Thousand province. The *biruda* of the Caṅgāḷvas was *Mahāmanḍles'vara.* But the Alupas assumed elaborate and high sounding *birudas,* and, in some instances, imperial titles as well. The family god of the Caṅgāḷvas was the god Annadāni Mallikārjuna on the Beṭṭadapura hill in the Huṇsur tāluka ; while the family deity of the Alupas was Siva (Bhairava) of the Sambhukallu temple in Udayāvara in the Uḍipi tāluka. The only point of resemblance between the Caṅgāḷvas and the Ālupas is that like the latter the Caṅgāḥ as sometimes evinced a great desire to promote the cause of Jainism. This explains the inclusion of a word—*dhdradsni* (meaning *aharebhya-bhaisajya-s'astradana)* in a record dated A.D. 1091 of the chieftain Caṅgāḷvadevaru *alias* Mariya Perggaḍe Piḷḍuvayya.[1] But this similarity is of no avail in establishing the alleged identity between the Caṅgāḷvas and the Alupas.[3]

1. *My. Ar chi. Report for 1925.* For a detailed account of the Cangājvas, read Rice, *E.* C, IX. Intr. pp. 19-20; *My. & Coorg,* pp. 141-144.

2. On the history of the Koṅgālvas, read, *My. & C$org.*. pp. 144-5. The Alavadi Six Hundred over which Alva, who ruled in *circa* A.D. 750, and who fell when Cojika Muttarasa rose, as mentioned in *E. C,* XII, Mi. 96. p. 113, need not be confounded with the Alva-

As regards the comparison made by the Madras Government Epigraphist between the Alupas and the Tamil rulers of Madura, we shall see in a later connection that it is equally fallacious. For the present we may observe that the fact of the occasional subservience of the Alupas to some of the most notable monarchs of the Karnāṭaka, cannot be seriously adduced in support of the alleged Dravidian origin of the word Alupa. There are instances of famous royal families, as, for instance, the Hoysalas, who at first acknowledged the supremacy of more powerful rulers but who rose to great prominence afterwards.[1] The Alupas, although by no means endowed with the vigour and magnificence of the Hoysalas, were nevertheless a royal family of considerable importance in the annals of both Tujuva and the Karnāṭaka.

The original home of these ancient rulers may now be located. Mr. Venkoba Rao writes thus:—"They originally held possession of Eḍevoḷal to the north-east of Banavāsi; and appear to have subsequently extended their dominions into the adjoining territory known as Aḷvakheḍa in the northern portion of the present

khetfa of the Ajupas of Udyavara. The Alvadi chieftains were of local origin and subordinate to the Gaṅga Pallavas. *E. C, ibid,* Intr. p. 7. An equally futile attempt has been made by some to trace the word Alupa to the Kannada word *Afuve,* meaning an outlet into the sea, suggesting thereby that since the earliest capital of the Alupas, Udaya*. vart, was near the sea, they took their name from the word *afuve.* M. Govinda Pai, *Kaṭnḍṭa Sāhitya Parifad,* XIII, p. 102, seq. This fanciful derivation does not rest on any cogent grounds. B. A S.

1. *My. & Coorg.,* p. 96.

South Kanara district. Their headquarters which were at one time Pombuccha ( Humca in the present Mysore State ), appear to have been later on shifted to Bārakūru, the Barahkanyāpura of the inscriptions.... when the later Sāntara chiefs had encroached upon the territory round about Humca ".[1]

One fails to see how the above statements came to be written. Evidently some of them are to be traced to the following conjectures of Hultzsch, who, while editing the Udayāvara inscriptions of the Alupa rulers in the *Epigraphia Indica*, wrote thus : "That Citravāhana, whom the second Kigga inscription mentions as residing at Humcha, may or may not be identical with this Citravāhana II, but must be distinct from Citravāhana I, whose capital was probably Banavasi. If this identification is correct, Pombucchu, the modern Humcha, world have been the headquarters of the Aḷuvakheḍa Six Thousand. This Humcha seems to have been the capital of the Alupa kings ".[3]

The original home of the Alupas was not certainly Eḍevoḷal; they did not extend their territory from Eḍevoḷal to the coast ; and Bārakūru was never their first capital in Tuḷuva. These are the statements which we shall now prove with the aid of the inscriptions of the Alupa rulers found both in Tuḷuva and over the Ghats. Of the seventy-eight stone epigraphs and copper-plate grants hitherto discovered in con-

1. *Ep. Rept. of the S. Circle* for 1926, p. 106.
2. *E.* J.. IX, pp. 16-17.

nection with the Alupa rulers, only seven (three of them being copper-plates) hail from the regions over the Ghats. The remaining seventy-one have been found exclusively within the boundaries oi ancient Tuḷuva, Udayāvara itselt claiming tourteen epigraphs. As regards the seven records found in the Mysore State, six deal with the early Alupas, and one with a later ruler of the same dynasty. And of the six former, one merely mentions an Alupa king in connection with a Kadaṁba ruler; another speaks of an Alupa king ruling over the Kadaṁbamaṇḍala, and yet another one speaks of his son as ruling over Pombuccha ; while of the remaining three, two deal with the grants issued by the Western Cālukya monarch Vinayāditya, and one with the action which the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Prabhūtavarsa Govinda took to quell a revolt on the part of the ruler of Alvakheda Six Thousand. There is nothing in the above six records to suggest in the least that Eḍevoḷal was the original home of the Alupas. The seventh record may be dismissed as pertaining to an Alupa ruler of the first half of the tourteenth century A.D.

Another consideration may be adduced in support of the contention that neither Eḍevoḷal nor Banavāsi was the early capital of the Alupas. We may recall here the victories of king Klrtivarmā I as given in the Mahakuta pillar inscription of king Mangalesa. Here Aluka and Vaijayanti are mentioned separately. If the Alupas had Vaijayantī or Banavāsi as their early

capital, it would not have been mentioned apart from Aḷuka. Moreover, we cannot conceive of the Alupas being masters of Banavāsi in the second or third century A.D., when the early Kadarhbas were already in possession of that city and its neighbourhood.[1] As to how the Alupas came to be ruling over the Kadarii-bamaṇḍala and Pombuccha, it is a point we shall try to elucidate in a subsequent connection.

Finally, we may note that had the Alupas been in possession of Banavāsi prior to their having been lords of Udayāvara, they would never have called themselves *Caṁbukalla (S'aṁbhukallu) Bhaṭṭārakas,* especially in an inscription which both historically and palaeographically belongs to the same age to which the records referring to their alleged Banavāsi origin have been assigned by Hultzsch. The absence of the reference to the god Madhukesvara of Banavasi—the family god of the Kadarhbas—in any of the records of the Alupas hitherto discovered proves their non-Banavāsi origin. That in one or two inscriptions mention is made of the confirmation of tolls granted to the PaSupata Lord of Paṭṭi(i.e., Humccha)and to Udayāvara is no argument to affirm that the Alupas came originally from Pombuccha. Indeed, it appears te us, as we shall presently make it clear, that the fact of one of the soldiers, who fought and fell on behalf of a Udayavara king, having been distinctly mentioned as an adherent of the Paśupata

). *My. & Coorg.,* pp. 21-2.

Lord of Paṭṭi, has been interpreted to mean that the Alupa ruler himself was a devotee of the Pasupata Lord of Humccha ! Such a confusion is not warranted by any of the epigraphs under review.

## 3. THE EARLY ALUPAS

We may now attempt to locate the various Alupa rulers mostly on the basis of their own records, and in one or two instances, on those of their contemporaries over the Ghats. While the above remarks indisputably establish the antiquity of the Alupas, it must be confessed that no direct evidence from epigraphs is forthcoming to prove their existence prior to the times of the Kadarhba ruler of Bhatari-kula. The antiquity of the Alupas which is thus vouchsafed lor by the Halmiḍi stone inscription is furtl er borne out by the reference to the Alupas in the epigraphs of the remarkable early Western Cālukya monarch Kīrtivarmā whose conquests, we may be permitted to repeat, included Aḷuka Vaijayantī[1]. The reference here is only to the dynasty and kingdom and not to the name of the Alupa ruler. We asume that the relations between the Western Cālukyas and the Alupas remained the same urider Klrtivarmā's brother and successor MaṅgaleSa Raṭṭavikrama (A.D. 597-608). The fact of the Alupas and the Gaṅgas having drunk " the nector of close attondance " on the great PulikeS'n II Satyasraya (A.D. 609-642), as is narrated in an inscription dated A.D.

1. I.A. XIX. pp. 14, 19, op. cit.

634-5,[1] only confirms our surmise concerning the submission of the Alupas to the early Western Cālukyas. What precisely were the relations between them and the Alupas when Pulikesin's third son and successor Vikramāditya I reigned (A.D. 655-680),' we do not know. Not till we come to Vikramaditya I's son and successor Vinayaditya Satyasraya (A.D. 680-696) do we meet with the first prominent historical figure in Alupa history from whom we argue backward thus, in order to locate his predecessors from Kirtivarma I's time till that of Vinayaditya Satyasraya.

This Alupa contemporary of Vinayāditya Satyā-Sraya, on whose epigraphs we construct the history of some of the early Alupa rulers, was Citiavāhana whom we style the first of that name. Four inscriptions con. cerning him have been discovered. Of these two were issued under the command of his suzerain, the third deals exclusively with him, and the fourth belongs to his predecessor and father. These four inscriptions are the following :—the copper-plate grant from the Sohrab tāluka dated June 22nd A.D. 692; the second is another copper-plate found at Harihara in the Dāvaṇagere tāluka dated A.D. 694; the third is a stone inscription found at Kigga (Kigga hobli) in the Sringesvara temple, Koppa tāluka, assigned to circa A.D. 675 ; and the fourth on the back of the same stone in the same

1. I. *A.* V.p. 67 seq ; VIII. p. 237; *Archl. Survey of Western India,* I I I . p. 129; E. I. V I . p. 10.

2. My. & *Coorg.,* p. 63.

place but dealing with Citravāhana's father about whom we shall presently deal.

The copper-plate grant dated June 22nd A.D. 692 relates the following :—that Vinayaditya Satyasraya commanded all the people thus—that when six hundred and fourteen Saka years had passed, and the eleventh year of the monarch was current, his victorious camp being located at the village of Citrasedu in the Toramara *viṣaya* (details of the date being given), at the request of the Alupa ruler Guṇasāgara's son the illustrious Mahārāja Citravāha—, to Divākara^arma, son of Sankarasarma and grandson of Nagasarma, of the Devarāta KauSika-gofra, proficient in the Ṛg Veda, was given the village named Sālivoge in the Eḍevolal *viṣaya.* to the north-east (quarter) of Vaijayanti, with the pouring of water and presentation of coin, not to be entered (into) by soldiers and free from all molestation, etc. The concluding lines of the same record may be noted :—by the great minister for peace and war *(maha-sandhi-vighrahika)* Raiṇapuṇya Vallabha was the *sasana* written[1].

For our immediate purpose we may observe the following :—that in the above record of the Western Calukya monarch the Alupa ruler is called the illustrious *(S'ri) Maharnja* Citravaha, that his father's name wa^Guṇasāgara, and that the place where Vinayāditya Satyā^raya encamped and where Citravāha presented

1. *E.* C., VIII. Sb. 571, p. 92; I. A., XIX, p. 152.

him with a petition was Citrasedu in the Gooty tāluka.[1]

The same Western Cāḷukya ruler complied with another request of the same Alupa king three years later at a place mentioned in the following copper plate grant hailing from Harihara in the Dāvaṇagere tāluka, and dated A. D. 694. This record affirms that Vinayāditya Satyasraya, by whom the Pallavas, Kalabhras, Keraḷas, and others were brought into service equally with the Aḷuvas, Gaṅgas and others of old standing (*Āluva-Gangadyaih maulaih samam bhrtyatam nitah)* commanded all people thus : That six hundred and sixteen Saka years had passed and the fourteenth year of the king's increasing victorious reign was being current, his victorious camp being situated at a village of Karanjapatra, in the neighbourhood of Haresapura ( which may have been Harihara itself ), at the full moon in Kārtika, on the application of Srimat Ajuva Raja, to Srisarma Somayaji's grandson, and Mara-Parma's son ISanasarma, well versed in the Vedas and Vedāngas, was given in village of Kiru-Kagamasi in the Edevoḷal *viṣaya* of the Vanavāsi district together with the prepared and unprepared tract to the west of Per-Kagamasi ( with details ).[2]

Since only two years elapsed after the granting of the Sālivoge village by the same monarch, and since the Harihara grant also refers to an endowment to "a

1. *Ep. Rept.for 1921,* p. 87.
2. *E. C.* XI. DR. 66, pp. 62-3, 144.

learned Brahman, we deduee that the Aḷuva Rāja mentioned in the latter grant was no other than Citravāhana himself. As regards the *biruda MahUrāja* not being found in it, we may observe that it was compensated for by an epithet of equal, or perhaps greater, signification-maulah. The donee was of course an altogher different person to the one mentioned in the Sohrab grant. Two more considerations may be made from the two records :—the Mahārāja Citravāha, or Aḷuva Rāja, wras a patron of learning. He seems to have been particularly in the good grace of his suzerain. Both the villages granted by Vinayāditya Satyā^raya-Sālivoge and Kiṟu-Kāgāmāsi—were included in the Eḍevoḷal *viṣaya* of the Banavāsi district.

The third inscription found in Kigga in the Koppa tāluka relates that when Citravāhana was ruling Pombuccha, and Nāgenna was the officer of Kiḷḷa, the paddy produce, cow's milk, bullock of the god Kiḻgāṇeśvara, excepting the attendants of the gods, no one else ( was permitted ) to enjoy. Those who enjoyed this, and he who caused it to be enjoyed would remove the burden from the *deveḍittiyar* and the *sāer,* and take the produce, were to be held as consecrated to the thirty-three ( i. e. gods ).[1] The incription gives further interesting details which will be utilized in a later connection.

The identification of the Citravāhana mentioned in the*above stone inscription with the illustrious Mahārāja Citravāha of the Sohrab plate and the Aḷuva Rāja

1. *E.* C. VI, Kp. 37, p. 82.

of the Harihara plate, and the date to which this Kigga stone inscription can be assigned, can be determined by comparing the last epigraph with what is narrated on its back. The inscription on the reverse of the Kigga stone narrates that when Aḷu-arasa, with the second name of Guṇasāgara, was rulingthe Kadarhbamaṇḍala,-Aḷu-arasa, the Mahā Devi, and Citravāhana,—on Kuṅda-varmarasa coming to his end, granted to the Kiḷgāṇa god everything free of all impos s *(svasti śrīmatu Āḷu-arasar Guṇasāgarādvitlya-nāmadheyan Kadaṁba-maṇḍalamaṃ aluttam Alwarasarum M aha-deviy aruṃ Citravdhanaruṃ Kundaoarm-arasam mudime-geye.)*[1]

In the above record we have the following important details : Aḷu-arasar, with his second name Guṇasāgara, mentioned with his queen who is merely called Mahā Devī and with his son Citravāhana ; the death of Kuṅdavarmarasa ; and the granting of certain imposts to the Kiḷgāṇa god. The first statement concerning Citravāhana's father being called (Aḷu-arasar with the second of) Guṇasāgara strikingly corroborates the statement in the two grants of Vinayaditya Satyasraya cited above. As regards the Kiḷgāṇa god to whom Aḷu-arasar Guṇasāgara made some endowment, it was the same god mentioned above on the obverse of the stone under the name Kiḷagāṇeśvara. All these four records, therefore, refer to one and the same Citravāhana and to his father Aḷu-arasar Guṇasāgara.

1. *E.C. Vl., Kp* **38, pp. 82-3.**

We have next to identify one of the figures—Kundavarmarasa—mentioned in the above record from Kigga, and the date to which the epigraphs on the obverse and reverse of the stone are to be assigned. As regards Kundavarmarasa, Rice wrote thus:—"We can hardly be wrong in assuming that Kundavarmarasa *(vide* Kp, 38) was a Kadaṁba; and it would seem as if he were a representative of the family, who had retired to a life of seclusion in the retreat of a temple at Kigga, where this inscription was found."[1] This is an entirely gratuitous assertion not in keeping with the sense of the inscription under review. Instead of assuming that Kundavarma was a Kadaṁba ruler, we believe that he was Aḷu-arasar Guṇasāgara's father, and, therefore, Citravāhana's grandfather. It was on the death of his father that Aḷu-arasar Guṇasāgara together with his queen and son repaired to the god Kiṅgāṇa and gave to the temple certain endowments. We cannot imagine an Alupa, or a non-Kadaṁba, king giving imposts to a temple on the death of a person who, as Rice imagines, belonged to the Kadaṁba stock. The name Kundavarma is not unknown to Alupa genealogy : it was borne later on by an Alupa ruler.

Now to fix the two Kigga inscriptions chronologically, we argue thus :—Rice has assigned both the inscriptions to circa A.D. 675, on grounds which cannot be understood.[2] Supposing we accept the date given

1. *E. C. VI.* Intr. p. 5.

2. **Rice's uncertainty is apparent when he assigns the same Kp. 37 to A.D. 690 !** *Ibid.* **p. 10.**

to the Kigga inscription 37 (i. e , the one on the obverse of the stone) as correct, we cannot conceive of Citravāhana ruling over Pombuccha and of his father Āḷu-arasar Guṇasāgara ruling over the Kadaṁbamaṇḍala in one and the same year. We have, therefore, to assume the contrary to be the truth, *viz.*, that Citravāhana succeeded to the mastery of the Kadaṁbamaṇḍala over which Aḷu-arasar Guṇasāgara had ruled for some time. We know that the earliest date for Citravāhana I is A.D. 692. It is not improbable that he may have ruled over Pombuccha a few years earlier, *viz.*, in A.D. 675, This would mean that his reign lasted from A.D. 675 till A.D. 694 or thereabouts. If we assign twenty-five years to Aḷu-arasar Guṇasāgara, we come to A.D. 650 when he may have been in the presence of the god Kḷḷgāṇa along with his queen Mahā Devī and Citravāhana. This would mean that the reverse of the Kigga stone inscription (Kp. 38) has to be assigned to A.D.650.

If this is accepted, then, Alu-arasar Gunasagara's father Kuṇḍavarmarasa may be assigned to the year A.D. 625. The identity of the three successive kings is as follows :—

| Dg. 66 dated A..D694 | Sohrab Plates dated A.D. 692 | Kigga 37 dated A.D. 675 | Kigga 38 dated circa 650 |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Kunda-varmarasa |
| | Guṇasāgara | | Aḷu-arasar Guṇasāgara |
| Śrīmat Ajuva Rāja | jSrlmat Mahā-rāja Citravāha | Citravāhana | Citravāha |

There is one point in regard to the above rulers which still remains to be solved. And that is, how they, especially Aḷu-arasar Guṇasāgara and his son Citravāhana, come to be in possession of the Kadaṁba-maṇḍala. Rice remarked thus as regards this question:- "Why the king Aḷu-arasar Guṇasāgara was in the possession of the Kadaṁbamaṇḍala we do not know. No overlord is mentioned."[1] Then again he wrote, while dealing with Citravāhana, thus:—"Why Citravāhana was ruling from Pombuccha. which was the Sāntāra capital, does not appear."[3]

But the acquisition of the Kadaṁbamaṇḍala and with it of Pombuccha was not accidental. A few facts concerning the history of the Western Cālukyas will make this clear. The Aihole-Meguti inscription of Pulikesin II dated Saka 556 (A.D. 634-5) informs us that Klrtivarma I subjugated the Kadaṁbas; and that the conquests of Pulikesin II himself also included that of the Kadaṁbamaṇḍala. The former statement relating to Klrtivarma I is corroborated by the undated Old-Kannaḍa inscription found at Aḍur (the ancient

1. & 2. *E. C.* VI, Intr. pp. 5, 10. Hultzsch's conjectures regarding the two Citravāhanas are to be discarded. He makes an equally untenable statement, wàr., that Citravāhana, whom he calls the I of that name, granted the two villages in the Eclevolal *visaya. E. I.* IX, p. 16. Mr. Moraes conjectures thus : — "It is possible that Pulikeśin II after reducing the Kadambas to subjection, wished to render them incapable of further mischief by completely destroying their power/' To realize this he divided their territories among the Alupas, who received the Kadaṁbamaṇḍala, and the Sendrakas, who secured the Nāgarakhaṇḍa division. *Kadathba-kula,* p. 76. But those are merely suppositions. B. A. S.

Pāṇḍipura ) in the Dharwar district, in the heart of the Kadarhba territory, and by the Vokkalēri plates dated A.D. 757,[1] both of the king Pulikeśin. The unprecedented success of the Western Cālukya arms under Pulikeśin II brought in an interesting feature in the history of the dealings of the Karnāṭaka rulers with their neighbours in the south and in the east. About this time there was the coalition among the non-Karnāṭaka rulers following the conquests of the Pallavas of Kaiici, the Coḷas, the Keraḷas, and the Pāṇḍyas by that illustrious Western Cālukya monarch. The Pallavas aided by the Coḷa, Keraḷa, and Pāṇḍya kings drove the Western Cālukyas to a region below the Ghats, and even succeeded in destroying their capital Vātāpi or Badami.

The temporary humiliation which the Western Cālukya family suffered at the hands oi the confederacy of the Tamil, Paṇḍya and Keraḷa rulers was retrieved by Pulikesin's third son Vikramaditya I Raṇarasika. This ruler seized Kañci, conquered all the allies of the Pallavas, and acquired for himself the regal splendour of his father. Among the confederates of the Pallavas were the Kaḷabhras.

If we provisionally accept the identification of the Kaḷabhras with the Kadarhbas,[2] we have a clue to the understanding of the problem concerning the possession

1. Rice, *My. & Coorg.* p. 64; *E.* C, X, Kl. 66, pp. 15-17; Fleet! *Dyn. Kan. Dist.* pp. 20-1, 23-4.

2. Rice, *ibid,* p. 65, n. (1); *JRAS* for 1929, p. 138. On the relations between the Western Cālukyas and the Pallavas, read Fleet, ***ibid,*** pp. 26-28.

of the Kadaṁbamaṇḍala by Aju-arasar Guṇasāgara and by his son Citravāhana I. Obviously after the repeated ccnquest of the Kadarhbas by Kīrtivarmā I and again by PulikeSin II, they had joined hands with the Pallavas, the Coḷas, the Keraḷas, and the Pāṇḍyas. The only road along which the Keraḷas, who were the western allies of the Pallavas, could advance against the Western Cālukyas was either through Aḷvakheḍa or the Ghat region across the Koṅgu country. If Pombuccha—which later on became the capital of the Sāṁta-lige Thousand—and the Kadaṁbamaṇḍala were entrusted to the charge of the Alupas, who were the hereditary allies of the Western Cālukyas, the latter could not only safeguard their territory against an attack by the Keraḷas but direct salely their attention against the Pallavas along the eastern frontier.

This not only explains why in the reign of Vikramāditya I Raṇarasika (A.D. 655-680) we find Aḷuarasar Guṇasāgara over the Kadaṁbamaṇḍala but justifies the date we have given for him, *viz.*, A.D. 650. Further, it also explains the marked favour which Vinayāditya, who again arrested "the extremely exalted power of the Pallavas, the lords of Kaiici" and brought them under his subjection along with their old allies the Co|as and Pāṇḍyas, showed to Citravāhana I on two occasions, as mentioned above.[1]

**1. The Kigga inscription Kg. 37 mentions a Senavarasa along with the *dhartna-karaṇiki* under the Alupa ruler Citravāhana. We cannot identify the Senavarasa mentioned in this record. But the following considerations, if corroborated by other sources» would not**

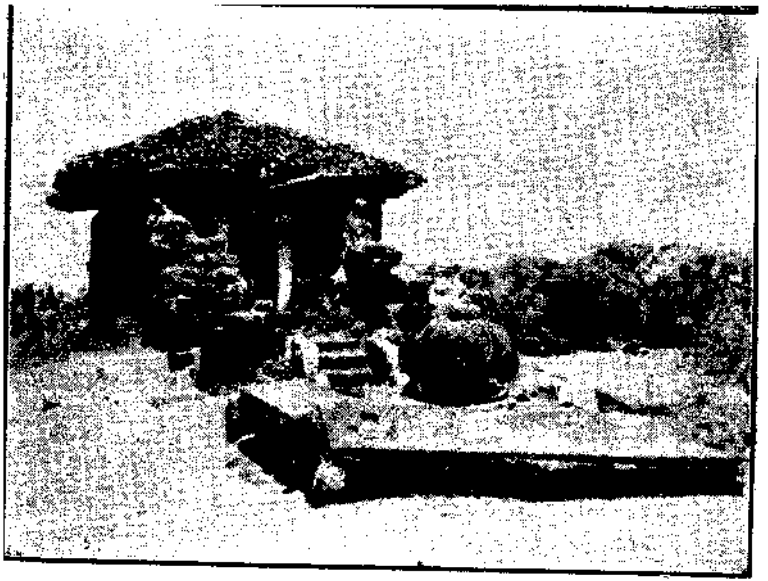
Two new stone records have now to be examined in order to determine the predecessors of Kundavarmarasa, the grandfather of Citravāhana I. Of these the first was found in front of the Saṁbhukallu Bhairava temple at Udayāvara. The ruler is called merely Srf Mārāmma Aḷvarasar. Two towns are mentioned in this record—Kōḷalanagara and Odevura. The tormer is to be identified with what is now called Koḷalagiri on the other side of Suvarṇā river in the Uppūru *grāma;* and the latter is the^earliest variant of

**only prove the identification of Senavarasa but confirm our deduction concerning the contemporaneity of Alu-arasar Guṇasagara with Vikramāditya I. There is a Senavarasa ruling over Banavase 12,000 under the Western Cālukya Vikramāditya Satyāśraya ( *E. C.* VIII, Sh. 381, p. 67 ). The inscription which gives us this detail has been, for reasons not intelligible, assigned by Rice to A.D. 1010. There are two rulers who were called Vikramāditya Satyāśraya : Pulikegin IPs third son, with whom we have been hitherto dealing, was called Vikramāditya Satyāśraya. His own and his father's conquests justified his title. His great grandson was also called Vikramāditya II Satyāśraya. Two inscriptions of this ruler found at Pa(ṭaoḷakal inform us that he three times conquered the Pallavas of Katfci. ( *Fleet, Dyn. Kan. Dt.,* p. 29 ). Among the later Western Cālukyas is aho a Vikramāditya—the most brilliant of the later rulers. Since this ruler did not assume the second name of Satyāśraya, we may reject the date *circa* A.D. 1010 given to Sb. 381 by Rice. Therefore, the Vikramāditya Satyāśraya mentioned in that record must refer either to the first or the second of that name. We believe that it refers ta Vikramāditya I Satyāśraya since it explains the association of the Kadaṁbas with him and the appearance of the Alupa ruler Ajuarasar in the Kadarhbamaṇḍala. It was because the Kadaṁbas had sided with the Pallavas that Vikramādaitya I Satyāśraya removed Senavarasa from Kadarhbamaṇḍala and gave it to his Alupa ally. Whether this Senavarasa is to be identified with king Sena vāra Arkkesari, who is mentioned in a record assigned to *circa* A.D. 700 by Rice *(E.C..VII.* Sk. 278, p, 145), we cannot make out. The name Senavara still survives among the Buṇts of Tujuva. B. A. S.**

Udayāvara, the capital of the Alupas. The Goravaru spoken of in this record are no other than the Sthānikas.[1]

The following considerations prompt us to assert that the ruler mentioned in the above Saṁbhukallu inscription is one of the earliest kings of Udayāvara. He is styled merely Srī Māramma Aḷvarasar. Like most of the early rulers of Karnāṭaka royal houses, for example, those of the Hoysala, Sāntāra, and Vijayanagara families, tl}is Ālupa king has no *birudas* prefixed to his name. He cannot be compared with the Alupa kings who bore a similar name, *viz.*, Māramma Aḷuvarasar, since they bore elaborate *birudas,* while be had none. The record in question ends plainly without the name of the scribe. And the archaic language of the inscription, as is proved not only by its tenor but especially by the manner in which Udayāvara is written, clearly indicates that the ruler Srī Māramma Aḷvarasar preceded Kundavarmarasa.

1. The inscription rtads thus :—*Svasti Sri Maramma Alvarasar Koḷala-nakcrakke Karasi-Ntiygrn-alď Kdyisi (do) Odevura nrkra* sr *hitta lakcla—sri algal Goravaru. 99 of 1901; S. I. I., VII,* No. 283, p. 144. The suffix *giri* given to Koḷalnagara by the people now is unintelligible* It is a small hillc ck and it contains, the ruins of a temple which was destroyed by the Roman Catholics in 1926 or thereabouts. The images of Krsna were thrown into the Suvarna river by, the miscreants, but were recovered by Mr. Timmappa Hegḍe, a wealthy Buṇt land-owner who bought the adjoining property. The people assert that the Roman Catholic priest of the Church at Kojalagiri is in possession of one of the two images wrecked by the Horn an Catholics. He however denied this when I questioned him on Dtc. 12th·)°32. Nothing is more regrettable than that under the, aegit of the British such-acts of vandalsim, if true, should have been committed I B,A.,S.



**The ancient S'ambhukallu temple at Udayavara with the Nandi in front**

**Photo by B. A, S.]** **[Copyright**

The tendency to prefix elaborate titles is seen in an inscription also found in the same Saṁbhukallu temple at Udayāvara. This record is likewise in Old Kannaḍa. The ruler mentioned in it is also called Srīmat Aḷuvarasar. But he cannot be identified with Māramma Ajvarasar spoken of above for the following reasons:—Unlike the latter, he has many *birudas.* He is styled *Daṇḍa Vibhata-vistlrṇa Pitāmaha-avalokana Saṁvardhita Kulābhimāna Sakaḷa Śrīmat Āḷuvarasaruṃ.* The second *biruda,* we may incidentally observe, *pitdimaha-avalokana* (One who was looked upon with affection by his Grandfather), suggests that the Alupa genealogy may be carried one generation beyond Sri Māramma Aḷvarasar. Our surmise is strengthened by the Halmiḍi stone inscription which actually mentions an Alupa king. But beyond this nothing can be said lor the present.

There are two other considerations which compel us to place this Srimat Aḷuvarasar after Māramma Aḷvarasar. The record gives the name (of the capital) Udipura, speaks of the seventy *okkalu* (citizens), the god Sambhukallu, and ends more elaborately than the inscription of Māramma Aḷvarasar thus:—*mi* (?) *dharmmam (a) n alivon Baranasiyan alidon-vasuvan-parvarumkondon tammabbeyoḷbaṁ (Iḍam* ?) *paṁca-maha-patakamamjieydon-idu candrādityakal,-ulḷin nilpudam.* Moreover, the name of the scribe-Sri Kaḷāḍityan-who wrote this epigraph *(daregoḷanmanbaredoṁ),** suggests that this tuler

1. *96 of 1901; S. I. 1.,* VII. No. 279, p- 143,

came after Māramma Aḷvarasar but before the Alupa ruler to be mentioned soon, since his inscription does not contain at the end the reference to Sivahaḷḷi, and especially to the acquisition of the fruit of horse-sacrifice so characteristic of the inscriptions of the rulers who came after Citravāhana I. We have placed Kundavarmarasa I in circa A. D. 625. Judging by the same standard as that adopted for him and his son, Aḷu-arasar Guṇasāgara, and his grandson Citravāhana I, we arrive at the following dates for the predecessors of Kundavarmarasa. This, as we shall see, fits in very well with the genealogy of the Alupa rulers:—

Māramma Aḷvarasar A.D. 575.

|

Sakala Srlmat Aḷuvarasar A.D. 600.

The Alupa rulers hitherto mentioned and their Western Cālukya overlords may, therefore, be thus arranged:—

| The Alupas | The Western Cālukyas |
|---|---|
| Māramma Aḷvarasar<br>A.D. 575. | Kīrtivarmā I<br>A.D. 566-A.D. 597. |
| I | I |
| Sakala Srimat Aluvarasar<br>A.D. 600.' | Mangalesa (brother)<br>A.D. 597-A.D. 608. |
| I | I |
| Kundavarmarasa<br>A.D. 625. | Pulikesin II<br>(son of Kirtivarma II)<br>A.D. 609-A.D. 642. |
| Aḷu-arasar Guṇasagara (son)<br>A.D. 650. | Vikramāditya I (son)<br>A.D. 655-A.D. 680. |
| Citravāhana I (son)<br>A.D. 675-A.D. 700 | Vinayfditya I (son<br>A.D. 680-A.D. 696. |

## 4. CIVIL WAR IN UDAYAVARA

The reign of Citravāhana 1 witnessed a civil war in Udayāvara. Details concerning this interesting strife are gathered from stone inscriptions found near the Sarhbhukallu temple and in a private garden in Udayāvara, in the MahālingesVara temple at Kōṭa, also in the Uḍipi tāluka, at Kariyaṅgaḷa and in the Durgā ParamesVarī temple—the former near, the latter in, Poḷali Ammuṇije in the Mangalore tāluka. None of these inscriptions is dated. They can be properly adjusted only by a comparative study. Palaeographically they belong to the same age.

The situation seems to be the following :—We have seen that Citravāhana I was away for a long time in the Kadaṁbamaṇḍala. The Alupa capital Udayāvara during his absence seems to have been entrusted to the charge of Raṇasāgara who may have been either the brother or a near relative of Citravāhana I. That Raṇasāgara was actually reigning in Udayāvara is proved by epigraphs. We then see Citravāhana I attacking Raṇasāgara who, for some reasons, seems to have proved hostile to him. Raṇasāgara is beaten and he retires only to storm Udayāvara which falls into his hands. He is again attacked, this timely Svetavahana obviously on behalf of Citravāhana I, who mayrhave died by this time. What happens to Raṇasāgara we do nojt know. Svetavāhana in his turn is attacked by Pṛthvīsāgara who is crowned at Udayāvara. His son Vijayāditya continues the succession assuming the ṭitle of *Adhirōja.*

The above is the only reasonable deduction from the Alupa epigraphs which otherwise are unintelligible and conflicting. We resume the narrative with Citravāhana I. It has been shown that his reign ma) have commenced in A.D. 675 when we find him ruling over Pombuccha. In A.D. 692 he was at Citrasedu with Vinayāditya Satyāśraya, and in A.D. 694, at Karañjapatra along with the same Western Cālukya monarch. If our surmise is correct, he seems to have been away from his capital, Udayāvara, for quite a long time, at least certainly from A.D. 692 till A.D. 694. Our assumption that he was the lord of Udayāvara is proved by a record found in front of the Sambhukallu temple at Udayāvara which not only calls him the *Lord of the Earth (dhareg-ls'an)* but denies royal titles to his rival Raṇasāgara. This record will be presently cited.

That Raṇasāgara was not only ruling over Udayāvara but over the other parts of Aḷvakheḍa as well is proved by two stone inscriptions, one of them found in the Saṁbhukallu temple at Udayāvara and the other at Kariyaṅgaḷa near Poḷali Ammuṇije in the Mangalore tāluka. The Sambhukallu temple stone inscription records that in the reign of the *Caṁlukallu Bhattaraka(i.e.,* Sambhukallu Bhaṭṭaraka) Sri Raṇasagara A]upendra, certain regulations were made pertaining to the daily regulation of eighteen towns, and ( that ? ) of Udayavara.[1] If the assumption that Citravāhana I was away in A.D. 675 is admitted, then, the

1. *100 of 1901 ; S. I. I.,* **VII, No. 284, p. 144.**

above Saṁbhukallu record pertaining to the daily regulations in the reign of Raṇasāgara Aḷupendra may be dated also in A.D. 675. Raṇasāgara must have been placed over Udayavara in that year by Citravahana I.

An undated stone inscription also in Old Kannaḍa found in Kariyaṅgaḷa near Poḷali, confirms our surmise that Raṇasāgara was indeed ruling over Aḷvakheḍa. This epigraph narrates that in a fight Nāgamma of the *Kayya-vams'a,* who was known as Śudraka, destroyed the enemy ; and that Raṇasāgara made a gift in appreciation of his valour.[1] Since it was only rulers who gave gifts on such occasions, we have to identify the Raṇasāgara mentioned in this Kariyaṅgaḷa record with the Raṇasāgara of the Sarhbhukallu inscription.

If this is granted, the following record found in the Durgā Parames'vari temple also at Poḷali Ammuṇije, is to be ascribed to the same ruler. This undated stone inscription records the death of Nanda Kaṁba in a battle with Aḷvar.[2]

There was consequently trouble in the reign of Raṇasāgara. From the fact that the above records were found at Poḷali Ammuṇije, we have to surmise that it was there that he first had to meet with opposition. On whose behalf Nanda Kaṁba fought and died, cannot be made out. But judged by the following record from Udayāvara commemorating the occupation of the city by Citravāhana I, we may say that it was on this ruler's behalf that Naṁda Kaṁba fought. The un-

1. *379 of 1927-8.* 2. *370 of 1927-8.*

dated Udayāvara Saṁbhukallu stone inscription informs us that during the trouble of Raṇasāgara *(Rana-sagarana s'am(sam)katadul)*> the Lord of the Earth ( *dhareg-isan), viz.,* Citravahana I, occupied and entered Udayapura *(Udayapuram dhareg-is'an pade poguvalli).* On this occasion Vijaṇa Nāyga's son Kāltide (whose bravery is extolled) fought and died on the side of Citravāhana.[1]

The absence of any *biruda* to Raṇasāgara in this record from the Sambhukallu temple may be compared to the plain name Aḷvar given obviously to the same ruler in the Durga Paramesvari inscription which mentions Nanda Kaṁba's death.

Citravāhana I's success was complete. He had justified his title of *dharegA'san.* But Raṇasagara was still powerful. This accounts for his re-entry into Udayāvara, and his successful defence against Svetvāhana. That Raṇasāgara re-entered Udayāvara is proved by an undated stone inscription found in the Mahāliṅgeśvara temple at Koṭa in the Uḍipi tāluka This epigraph records the death of Aṅgupesāra Pōlegan, a servant of Judda (Yuddha ?) Malla, when Raṇakisara entered Udayapura after fighting with *dhareg-lśan.** Evidently the *dhareg-ls'an* of this Koṭa inscription was none other than the *dharege-ls'an* ( Citravāhana 1) of the Udaya'vara Saṁbhukallu stone inscription mentioned above. It follows, therefore, that the name Raṇakisara

1. *94 of 1901 ; E. I.* IX. p. 18. 2. *505 of 1928-9.*

was either a second name of, or an engraver's error for, Raṇasāgara.

An undated stone inscription found in Udayāvara confirms our surmise that the Raṇakisara mentioned above was no other than Raṇasfgara himself. This record states that when Raṇasāgara entered Udayapura, Nalimaṇi Nāga Dlkṣara Sfgara attacking, Nāpaḍe fought and died.[1]

Citravāhana Fs success cannot be determined. But Raṇasāgara's success was short-lived. This is inferred from the following two undated records which describe Svetavāhana as attacking Udayapura and the defeat of Raṇasāgara. The first stone inscription was found in the Sarhbhukallu temple at Udayāvara. It narrates that when Svetavāhana entered Udayapura, Pāṇḍyavillaras's sonDevu (his praise) fought and died.* Another stone inscription found near Rāmacandra Bhaṭṭa's house also in Udayāvara, substantiates our assumption that Svetavāhana fought against Raṇasāgara. This epigraph relates that when Svetavāhana entered Udayapura, Raṇasāgara's servant Viṁja Praharabhūṣaṇa's son Kāmakoḍa (his praise) fell nobly fighting for his lord.[3]

1. *108 A of 1901 ; S. I. I. VII.*, No. 293, p. 143.

2. *105 of 1901 ; E. I.* IX. p. 15. Rangachari commits a blunder when he makes Svetavahana *son* of Pandyavillarasa. *A Top. List.* II. p. 875. This error is to be traced to the *Madras Govt. Epigraphist's Riportfor 1901,* where the same is given !

3. *108 of 1901; E. I. IX.*, pp. 18-9. Again Rangachari wrongly states that Svetavahana died in the reign of Ranasagara ! *A Top. List.* II. p. 875.

We cannot make out what happened to Raṇasāgara. Svetavāhana who opposed and probably killed him, may have been the son or a near relative of Citravāhana 1. Whatever that may be, it is evident that Svetavāhana himself had to defend Udayāvara against a new enemy. This was Pṛthvīsāgara who now stormed the Alupa capital. Three undated inscriptions which on palaeographical grounds may be assigned to the age of Svetavāhana and found in the Saṁbhukallu temple, deal with the activities of Pṛthvīsāgara. One informs us that when Polokku Priyacelva, who was the beloved servant of Pṛthvisāgara, the glorious Aḷupendra, was entering Udayapura, that Polokku Priyacelva fell fighting.[1] This record proves that Pṛthviśāgara Aḷupendra had to struggle before he could become lord of Udayāvara.

We corroborate our statement by another undated stone inscription also from the same place. It relates that when Pṛthvīsāgara, who is not given the *biruda* the " Glorious Aḷupendra ", had himself crowned *(Pṛthviśāgaran paṭṭam-gaṭṭisi Udyapurman poguta-palli)* was entering Udayapura, Nadavilmuḍi's son Palpaṛe died fighting.[1]

But Prthvisagara won a complete victoy. Wee infer this from a third undated stone inscription found also in the same locality. The high sounding *hiradas* which he assumed and the granting of tolls to two cities could

1. *101 of 1901; E.I. IX., p. 20,*
2. *103 of 1901; E. I. IX.,* pp. 19-20.

To face p 88

The moat of the Fort at Udayāvara

Photo by V. G. S.] [Copyright

only have been after his having been declared to be the undisputed master of Udayāvara. The stone inscription under review records that during Boygavarma's headmanship of the district, Pṛthvlsāgara, the *Glorious Ālụpendra, Who sprang from the race of the Moon, the Ornament of his family, Udayāditya Uttama Pāṇḍya, the Glorious Ālụvarasar,* confirmed the gift of one half (of) the tolls *(suhkam)* to the two cities of Paṭṭi (i. e., Paṭṭi Pombucchapura or Humccha) and Udayapura.[1]

We can only surmise that Prthvisagara Ajupendra was the son of Raṇasāgara. This assuption rests no doubt on weak grounds. Nevertheless it may be observed that in one stone inscription already cited, he is called *Lord of the Earth.* Further, in the same record he is called the *Glorious Āluperdra.*'[2] Raṇasāgara alone bore that second name. It was to wrest Udayāvara from Svetavāhana, who maintained the claims of Raṇasagara's rival Citravāhana I, that Pṛthvlsāgara attacked Udayāvara and captured it.

The next ruler of Udayāvara seems to have been Pṛthvlsāgara's son. We infer this from two undated stone inscriptions found also in the Sarhbhukallu temple. A third inscription found in the Kotesvara temple at Kōṭeśvara in the Kundāpiiru tāluka may also be ascribed to the same ruler. Of the two Udayāvara stone records, one informs us that Vijayaditya Alu.

1. *102 of 1901; E.* J. IX., pp. 20-1.
2. ***101 of 1901, op. cit.***

pendra, *Parameśvara, Adhirājarjdja, Uttama Pār.ḍya, Who Sprang from the race of the Moon, the Glorious Māramma Āḷuvarasar,* confirmed the tolls to the same cities of Poṁbuḷca (i.e., Humccha) and Udayāvara, at a later date.[1]

1. *98 of 1901; E. I. IX* p. 22. Read Hultzsch's remarks why this inscription is dated later than the preceding one. *E. I. IX** pp. 23-4. The Māramma Aḷuvarasar of these records *(97 & 98 of 1901)* was not the same Maramma Aḷvaratar whom we have placed in *circa* A.D. 5/5 as the contemporary of KIrtivarma I. The following reasons prove our assertion :—

(a) The Saṁbhukallu stone record styled *99 of 1901* opens with *svasti.* The Sarhbhukallu inscription of Vijayaditya *(97 & 98 of 1901)* opens thus—*Om svasti Sri.*

(b) In *99 of 1901* the ruler is called merely Sri Maramma Ajvarasar. But in *97 & 98 of 1901* he has elaborate *birudm,* and he is said to have been of the Lunar line.

(c) In *99 of 1901* the name of the capital is given as Odevura which may have been the original name of the capital But in *97 & 98 of 1901* the capital is called Udayapura.

(d) In *99 of 1901* the town of Pafti Pombuccha-which was not in the possession of the early Alupas,—is not mentioned. But in *97* fif *98 of 1901* the tolls to this town are twice confirmed.

(e) *99 of 1901* is more archaic and is simpler than the more florid and intelligible records *97 & 98 of 1901.*

(f) *99 of 1901* mentions the Goravas (Sthanikas) evidently of Odevura. *97 & 98 of 1901* describe the eight-fold fruits of a horse-sacrifice and the sins of destroying Baraṇasi and Siva-ha}H.

(g) Finally, no engraver is mentioned in *99 of 1901.* But *98 of 1901* mentions Raṇadhari as the scribe, while *97 of 1901* contains no name of the engraver. These considerations conclusively prove that the two rulers Sri Maramma Aḷvarasar and Vijayaditya Alupendra Maramma Aluvarsar could never have btlonged to one and the same age. Our assumption, therefore, that Sri Māramma Ajvarsar of *99 of 1901* belonged to an earlier age is fully justified. B. A. S.

From the above records it will be seen that like Pṛthvīsāgara, Vijayāditya bore the names *Ālupendra* and *Uttama Paṇḍya*, and traced his descent from the Lunar race. Like Pṛthvīsagara, Vijayāditya is called the *Glorious (Maramma) Aluvarasar*. These considerations together with the fact that Vijayāditya called himself *Parames'vara* and *Adhirajaroja*, lead us to the inevitable conclusion that he was the heir to a powerful principality from his father Pṛthvīsagara Aḷupendra. This explains why he twice confirmed the tolls to the cities of Paṭṭi Pombuccha and Udayavara to which his father had granted tolls during the headmanship of Boygavarma.

The third inscription which belongs to the same monarch is that which was discovered in the KōṭeSvara temple at Kotesvara in the Kundapuru taluka. This is an undated and damaged stone record which merely registers a gift (of land ?) for the worship and offerings of the god Subra(ma)ṇi (Subrahmaṇya). The king is named Vijaya Deva A(lpanr)pendra Deva.[1]

Till now we have tried to fix the Alupas on the strength of their epigraphs. We may now assign dates to them according to the standard we have adopted above, namely, assigning twenty years to every one of the rulers. Citravahana I's last date, based on epigraphical evidence, is, as we have seen, A.D. 694. It cannot be that he attacked RaṇasTgara while he was

1. *372 of 1927.*

busy moving about in the company of his suzerain Vinayāditya Satyāśraya. Hence we have to suppose that he entered Udayāvara after A.D. 694. It has been made clear that he captured that city. We may, therefore, give five or six years more to Citravāhana 1. This would mean that his reign began in *circa* A.D. 675 and ended in A.D. 700.

Raṇasāgara being his contemporary may be assigned to A. D. 710-A. D. 720; and Svetavahana who attacked him, to A.D. 720-A.D. 730; Pṛthvisāgara Aḷupendra, who in turn ousted Svetavāhana, may be placed in A. D. 730-A.D. 750; and his son Vijayāditya Aḷupendra, who ruled over a secure kingdom, in A. D. 750-A. D. 770.

## 5. ALUPA RULERS FROM CITRAVAHANA II

If the above deductions which are based on historical and palaeographical grounds are admitted, we come to the problem of the identification of the successor of Vijayāditya Aḷupendra. He was Citravāhana whom we shall style as the second of that name. His age and name can be determined on the basis of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa record which will be discussed in connection with the foreign relations of the Alupa rulers. Here it may be noted that the Citravāhana mentioned in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa record cannot be identified with Citravāhana I for the following reason :-The Alupa rulers would not have stormed Udayāvara when the Rāṣṭrakūṭas had sent an army against one of them in order to punish him for a certain political offence. Hence we have to

reject the identification of the Citravāhana of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscription with Citravāhana 1 as originally given by Hultzsch and repeated by the Madras Government Epigraphist (Mr. Venkoba Rao), and the consequent confusion in the descent of the Alupa rulers made by the latter, who makes Citravāhana II successor to Citravāhana I, followed by Svetavāhana and Raṇasāgara.'

Nothing can be determined concerning the successors of Citravāhana II for about a century. What we may venture to suggest, as will be pointed out later on, is that king Vimalāditya may have ruled over Āḷvakheḍa in the precarious times that followed the reign of Citravahana II. It is only in about A. D. 920-30 that we come across Aḷva Raṇañjaya whose position in the Alupa genealogy will be fixed with the aid ot contemporary Śāntara records in the following chapter.

We presume that Aḷva Raṇañjaya's successor was Dattāḷpendra Srīmāra whom we place in A. D. 959 on the strength of a solitary stone inscription found in the SomesVara temple at Muḍukēṟi in Bārakūru. This inscription is undated but it mentions the ruler's spiritual adviser named Gagana Siva Acārya whose age will be discussed while delineating the religious history of Tuḷuvanāḍu. The queen of Dattāḷpendra Srlmāra was called Oḍḍama Devi. [2]

Dattājpendra Srimāra's successor was Kundavarma Aḷupendra (II). A unique inscription in Grantha script

1. *E.* **J.,** *IX* **pp. 16-17 ;** *Ep. Report for 1026-7* **pp. 106-7.**
2. *124 of 1901* **;** *S. I. I.* **VII., No. 314, p. 165**

but in the Sanskrit language engraved on the pedestal of the image of Lokesvara in the Manjunatha temple at Kadri, near Mangalore, is the only record concerning this ruler. The inscription opens with *svasti S'ri* (Hail! Prosperity !) in the usual Alupa manner. The **ruler is praised thus :—*That he was a sun to the lotus the Lunar race, One with an effulgent body, One with his chest rubbed with saffron from the breast of Laksmi the State, One who, endowed with great physical strength, protected the corners of the world shining in the moonlight of pure fame, One by whom the evil of drinking was made distant* (i. e., *removed), One who by his distinguished achievements, released the earth for the sake of the a&rcharas cf Brahmans, One who by his v dour recovered his kingdom after defeating traitorous wicked enemy (to whom he had given land [formerly] )—such an Ālupendra ruler namedKundavarma was equal to Karṛ.a in liberality, toArjuna m valour, to Indra in wealth, and to Bṛhaspati in wisdom. And (he was also) virtuous. He was like a bee at the lotus feet of Balacandra S'ikhamaṛi,* When 4068 years (and) nine months had passed in the Kaliyuga, and Jupiter was in Kanyā in the Rohiṇi nakṣatra on the afternoon (of the day) in an auspicious moment, (he) set up the image of god Lokesvara in the beautiful *vihara* of Kadirikā.[1]

1. *27 B. of 1901 ; Ep. Repufor 1921, p. 8;* 5. J. J. *VII.* No. 191, p. 87.

The original runs thus,:—

*&vasti Sri j SrimatSoma-kula-rmbhojcravind dipta (te) jasa- ] raja-Li ksmikucd (/ kta)k /. nki-krti-iu osd !|/|| udddma-bdhuviryena rakfitha(a) ksiti-mandala (ah)*

*niṣkc ḷaṅkcyaśaś-candracandrikā-vilasat-diśā* ‖2‖
*surā-pānc kṛto de (do) ṣo yena rājñā nirākṛt. ḥ* |
*dvijānām-agra-hārebhy. ḥ-cāru-cāritrc ṣāḷinā (śāḷinā)* ‖3‖
*dattām-bhuvā (cm)-nirākṛtya bclāt-viśvāsaghātinām* |
*rājyam svabhu (ja)-vīryeṇa gṛhīt. m yena mānirā* ‖4‖
*so'ycm Karṇa-samc ḥ-tyāgi (Pārtha)kalpaḥ parākrame* |
*Surendrasadṛśo Lakṣmyā Bṛhaspatisamo dhiyā* ‖5‖
*ŚrīKuṅdavarmā guṇava (vā) na (nā) aluven (dro) mchīpatiḥ* |
*pāda (ā) ravind. -bhramaro Bālacandra-Śikhāmaṇeḥ* ‖6‖
*kalau va (r) ṣasc h.srāṇām-atikrānte cctuṣc ye (catuṣṭc ye)* |
*pu (narc bde) gate-ca-eva-(āpya)ṣṭa-ṣcṣṭyā samanvite* ‖7‖
*gateṣu nava-māseṣu Kanyāyām scṁsthite Gurcu* |
*paścime-hari Rohiṇyām muhū (r) te śubha-lc kṣaṇe* ‖8‖
*Lokeśvcrasya devasya pratiṣṭhām-akcrot-prabhuḥ* |
*SrīmatKcdirikānāmni vihāre sumanohare* ‖ *svasti śrī* ‖9‖

Mr. Govind Pai, who has edited this inscription in Kannaḍa in the November issue of the now defunct *Karnāṭa Kesari*, 1927, pp.131-141, has given an incorrect rendering of some of the words occurring in the inscription. Thus in verse (1) he writes *kclcṅkita* when it ought to be *k. ḷ. ṅ.kī kṛta* ; in verse (2) he writes *kṣitimaṇḍclam* when it ought to be *kṣitimaṇḍclāḥ* ; in verse (3) he writes *kṛtāveśo* for *kṛtodoṣo* ; in verse (4) he gives *bhūpcnnirākṛtya* for *bhuvam* ; in verse (5) he writes *Karn (n) a-samastyāge* for *Karṇa-samastyāgi* and in the same verse he substitutes *vāyukalpaḥ* for *Partha* ; in verse (6) he gives *Āḷupendro* for *Āluvendro* ; and in verse (7) he writes *aṣṭa-ṣaṣṭi* for *āpyaṣṭa-ṣaṣṭyā*. Mr. Pai has translated the name of the *guru* of the Ālupa king thus :—*jcḍcyclli eḷcdiṅgcḷanu mudidukoṇḍiruva Śrī Śivana aḍidāvaregaḷa (bh. ktiyalli) duṁbiyopādiyc lliruva Ālupa vcṁścda oḍeyanāda Śrī Kuṅd. vcrmc nemba guṇcvantanāda mchārājanu.* This is how he translates verse (6) of the above inscription ! Expressed in Kannaḍa it ought to be the following:—*guṇavcntcnāda Śrī Kuṅdavcrma Āluvendra rājcnu Bālcccndra Śikhāmaṇiya pāda-k. mcḷcgcḷalli bhrcmarcdantiruvanu.* How far fetched Mr. Pai's translation is can be made out when we give one more specimen of his rendering. This concerns verse (1) which he gives thus in Kannaḍa:—*Svcsti vibhcvcdinda oḍagūḍiruva candravcṁśavemba tāvcrege nēscrantiruva tanna tējc dinda hoḷeyuttiruva (tcnna) rājyavemba Lcksmiya edege savcriruva alatigeyinda baḷediruva hṛd y. d-śaruḷḷa.* I translate this in the following manner :—*svasti śrī Candra-vcṁśavemba k. malckke sūrycnant iruva ujvclavāda dēha-kāntiyuḷḷa rāja-Lakṣmiya kuca-kuṅkumcdinda māsida edeyuḷḷa.* Suffice it to

The date works correctly to A.D. 968 January the 13th.[1]

The next name we meet with in the Alupa genealogy is that of Baṅkideva Alupendra deva (I). On the evidence of contemporary foreign history and that ol three stone inscriptions-- two of which clearly deal with him although they are undated, and one dated record which we assign to him on historical grounds,—this ruler may be placed in the middle of the eleventh century A.D. A study of the Alupa-Santara alliance which will be described in detail in a later connection, gives us the date A.D. 1050 for Baṅkideva Ālupendra. The two records which specifically mention this ruler were found in the Someśvara temple at Muḍukeṛi in Bārakūru. Both break off at the end but give us some details concerning the titles of the king and the territory over which he ruled. The epigraphs open with *svasti* and give the following *birudas* to the king :—*Samasta-loka-eka-vyaptayaśo-vistarārum* (One who had his fame spread uniformly all over the universe), *Nija-*

say that Mr. Pai has made matters unnecessarily more complicated by the use of imagination and antique phrases not warranted by the epigraph. He calls Lokeśvara Adinātha ! And by a roundabout way of reasoning, Mr. Pai arrives at A.D. 830 Jan. 8th Sat. as the year when Kundvarma installed this image of Lokeśvara ! This, as is evident from the chronology given in this treatise, is impossible. In the interpretation of this inscription, I have received invaluable aid from my learned friend Pandit Venkatadāsa Acārya of Uḍipi ; and the text I have followed is that given in the *S. 1. I.* VII. B. A. S.

1. Swamikannu Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris,* II. p. 336. In *S. I.* I. VII, p. 87, the date is given as Kali 4168 ! Mr. Rama Rao adds the detail 13th January, a Sunday B. A. S.

*ḍakṣiṇa-b (h)uja-daṇḍa* (in one version *ōrddaṇḍa*) *karavāḷu eka sahāyaram āgi* (One who felt confident in the use of the sword in his own right arm), *Tuḷu-viṣayadoḷ nija-āj̃neyaṃ nilisi* (One who established his own command in the Tuḷu-viṣaya), *Male-yēḷum-Kombumnaḷinal-eḷu-Male-pā (ḷ) par-ellamam* (One who ruled over the territories comprising the Seven Male and the Seven Kombu), *nija-svāmi* (the Rightful Lord), Śrī Bankideva Ālupendra Devar. One record unfortunatley breaks off here, and the other after narrating the above *birudas*, continues to give a few details concerning what appears to be the military success of the ruler.

The statements occurring here, *viz.*, that the Śāntaḷige Thousand was under him, and that the country was being ruled under the shadow of his sole umbrella-*S'āntaḷige-sāyiramaṃ eka-cchatra-cchāyeyiṃ rājyam-geyyattam mmalepa*,—when taken in conjunction with the *birudas* of the ruler referring to his valour and his mastery over the Seven Male and the Seven Kombu, prove beyond doubt that Bankideva Ālupendra was enjoying complete independence in the middle of the eleventh century A.D.[1]

An unfinished stone inscription found in the Śambhukallu temple at Udayāvara is supposed to belong to the reign of Bankideva Ālupendra on the following grounds:—It opens in the usual Ālupa manner with *svasti* but proceeds directly to give the date thus:—*Sake (S'aka) nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara-sa(s'a)tangaḷu 980 neya Viḷambi-saṁvatsarada Caitra S'uddha Puṇṇame 16 neya*

1. *135 & 137 of 1901; S. I. I.* VII., Nos. 327, 328, p. 178.

*udelam(Va)ddaviradandu* which agrees with A.D. 1058 March Friday the 15th, the week day however not corresponding. The inscription then continues thus:—*Cokipa iya-baliyannam S'riman Ma(hamamalesvara) Raja-Saitiratta.*.risar,a-darJasl...*and then breaks off. [1]

We know that Bankideva Alupendra's date is A. D. 1050. This inscription which falls in A.D. 1058 can be referred only to him, since it is impossible to conceive of any other ruler exercising authority over the Alva-kheda during Bankideva Alupendra's time. Moreover, if the *biruda MahamaiJi lika* is substituted for *Mahcmarda-leivura* given by the Madras Government Epigraphist, and if the last *words-risaja-daida'S*—are taken to be an error for *daksiia-bhuj -der Jo,* we may 'rave some further grounds, perraps, lor assigning tris inscription to the reign of Bankideva Alupendra which seems to have extended lrom A. D. 10:0 till A. D. 1070.

## 6. MEDIAEVAL ALUPAS

No direct evidence is forthcoming concerning the successor of Bankideva Alupendra I. But on the strength of one inscription oi Bl ujabala Kavi Alupendra and on that of his sun Bl ujabala Kulus̍tkhara Alupendra, we are able to assert that the ruler who succeeded Bankideva Alupen Ira I was Udayad tya Pilndya Pattiga-deva Alupa, a king wo is mentioned in the incomplete stone inscription iound in the DurgL ParamesVari temple

i. *(65 of 1901; S.I. VII,* No. 2.X, p. 145 ; Swamikannu, *Ivd. Efhem. III.* p . 1.8.

at Poḷali Ammuṇije. Here, however, the full name of the ruler is not given. He is styled ...Pfṇḍya Paṭṭ'ga-deva Alupa, thus proving beyond doubt that he was indeed an Alupa king. The record, we may incidentally remark, mentions an artisan Biravadi Candaya.[1]

Now, we may assert that Udayādityarasa, who is mentioned in the fragmentary record of Bhujabala Kavi Alupendra, is the same ruler whose name is given as... Pfṇḍya Paṭṭigadeva Alupa on the strength of a later record found in the Nemisvara *basti,* belonging to Alupa Jagadevarasa's (son and) successor Bhujabala Kulasekhara Alupendra. This later record of Kulaśekhara Alupendra, which will be cited while describing the reign of that ruler, clearly gives the descent of Kulasekhara Alupendra thus :—Pandya Pattodeya followed by Pandya Ca (kravartin) Kavi, and then a ruler whose name is effaced in the record (but who was evidently Alupa Jagade/ārasa) followed by Kulasekhara. Since, according to our estimate, Udayādityarasa preceded Kavi Alupendra, it follows that Pāṇḍya Paṭṭoḍeya was no other than Udayādityarasa. The last known date for Bankideva Alupendra I is A. D. 1058; and the earliest date for Bhujabala Kavi Alupendra is, as we shall presently see, A. D. 1134. We do not know whether Udayādityarasa Pfṇḍya Paṭṭigadeva (Paṭṭoḍeyn) Alupa ruled for fifty eight years; but it would not be far wrong to place him in about A. D. 1088.

1. *374 of 1927-8.*

That Udayadityarasa Pandya Pattigadeva (Pattoḍeya) indeed reigned is proved by the many *birudas* tfiven to him in the Nemīśvara *basti* inscription discovered at Varaṅga referred to above. They are the following:—*svastiSamasta-bhuvam-vikhyata,Pandya-rajadhiraja, Parames̄vara, Paramabhattaraka, S'aranagata-vajra, pañjara, ripu-raja-kuñjara, Sāhityāmara, Nāri-manorāma* (?), *Sangrāma-vJra, Catur-oidha-budha-jana (ra) (ṛaidini* ?), *Rajahaṁsa Bharata-kamavatamsa, Paṇḍita-Pāṇḍya, Pāṇḍya-Dhanaṁjaya, Jayaṅgana uttuhga-sthanālingana prasanga. Sangararanga, Keḷi-vinoda, ā...na bāḷa-jana-manaḥ kusumasara, Sarasvatl-karṇa-kuṇḍalaabharajHuRana-ranga-S'iidrākaityadi namaupeta Soma-vamsa-(man) dalika (tilaka ?) siṁhasanaanantaraṁ digantaraḷa-miḷita klrti-ketti-Patṭi-oḍeyam duṣṭanighraliasiṣṭa pratipaḷana paranāgi rajaraksitam dharmam erhba naḍiyam kannaḍisi dharmavam sadya dim rakṣisidan...*

The *birudas Sangrama-vira* (Hero of battle), *Jayangana-uttanga-sthanālingana prasanga* (One who was accustomed to embrace the lofty bosom of the Lady Victory), and *Raṇa-ranga S'ādraka (aS'ūdraka* on the battle-field) suggest that the Aiupa ruler was noted for his martial exploits which unfortunately cannot be determined at present. The statement that Paṭṭoḍeya *dharmam emba naḍiyam kannaḍisi* (caused the conduct of *dharma* to appear?) seems to imply that he championed the cause ol the Hinflu *dharma.*[1]

**1. These passages* from 526 *of 1928-9* have been taken from the transcript of that inscription so kindly sent to me by Mr. K. N. Dikshit through the Superintendent of Epigraphy, Southern Circle,**

His successor was Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra. Seven stone inscriptions dealing directly with Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra, and an eighth concerning one who seems to have been his vassal, have been discovered in the Uḍipi, Kundāpūru, and Kārkaḷa tālukas. The earliest opens merely with *svasti,* and is dated *Sa ('Sa) ki (vorṣa) 1036 neya Vijaya Sam (va) cch (ts) aradalu* which evidently stands for Saka 1035 *expired* (A.D. 1113-4), since the cyclic year for Saka 1036 was Jaya, and for Saka 1035 (1113-4) Vijaya. It then mentions directly that in the reign of *Kaoyalpendra* (i'. *e,* Kavi Ālupendra) *Maṇda..(U) deyadityarasara,* and then breaks off after a few words.[1] It is from this inscription found in the Sambhukallu temple at Udayāvara that we determine that Udayādityarasa was Kavi Ālupendra's (father and) predecessor.

Another stone inscription of Bhujabala Kavi Alupendra found in the Vināyaka temple at Uppūru, Uḍipi taluka, is doubly interesting. It not only calls the king by another name —*Pandya Cakravarti- but* gives

**Madras, along with the transcripts of Nos. *372* and *419 of 1927-1928 485,488, 490, 491,* and *509 of 1928-1929*. Unfortunately there are many gaps in the inscriptions, specially in *526 of 1928-9,* and the handwriting in many places is indistinct. I am not sure of some of the above passages. I may note here that one of the *biruda'i* of Udayādityarasa given above-Pandita Paṇḍya-appears as the name 6f a Śāntara chieftain Paṇḍita Pāṛujya, son of Rāya Pāṇḍya, in a record dated A.D. 1148. *E. C.* XI. Dg. 41, p. 51. S*arandgata-vajra-panjara* is one of the *birudas* borne by the Hosagunda chieftain Kymāta. Bīrarasa in A.D. 1229. See *infra,* Ch. Ill, see. IV.**

**1. *106 of 1901 : S. 1.1.* VII, No. 290, p. 146; Swamikannu, *Ind) Ephem.,* III. pp. 228, 230.**

us the name of one of the most celebrated figures in Tuḷuva history. It is that of Parapaḷi Nāyaka, who along with others *(muntddavnr),* made a gift of gold *(gadyāṇa 19)* on Adivāra, Pingaḷa, Kuṁbha 31. The cyclic year Piṇgaḷa corresponds to Saka 1019 ( A . D . 1137), and the date evidently stands for Sunday the 21st February.[1]

The memory of Parapaḷi or Paḷipaṭa Nāyaka, as he is called today, is still held in very high veneration by the people of Tuḷuva, especially in the TJḍipi and Kundāpūru tālukas, and, as they say, also over the Ghats. The above record which associates Parapaḷi Nāyaka with a gift of gold, is of particrlar importance. The following story concerning the liberality of this most generous son of Tuḷuva is still current in the **land :—**

Parapaḷi Nāyaka was a native of Baṇṇiñje in Uḍipi where aguḷi (shrine) of the god Hanumanta and a plot of land are still associated with him—the former as having been the place where he used to perform his worship of Hanumanta, and the latter his rice field from which he earned his living. His master was a learned Brahman, who was in search of a *para'sa* (Philosopher's Stone). Being skilled in black art, the Brahman ordered Parapaḷi Nāyaka to get ready a plantain tree to be planted in a certain place at a given time. Parapaḷi Nāyaka being very inquisitive, brought two plantain

**1.** ***488 of 1928-9;*** **Swamikannu,** ***Ind. Ephem.,*** **I I I . p. 278. Kuṁbha 31 is evidently an error for Kuṁbha 30. B.A.S.**

trees, and giving one to his master, kept the other for himself. When the auspicious moment arrived, the Brahman planted the plantain tree, Parapaḷi Nāyaka doing the same without his master's knowing it.

Indue course startling results revealed themselves: the master's plantain tree proved barren, while Parapaḷi Nāyaka's bore a gorgeous bunch of golden coloured plantains! But the simple-minded Parapaḷi Nāyaka seeing the huge bunch of plantains, was terribly perturbed at the novel fruits, and went to his master and confessed his doings. The kind-hearted Brahman, far from getting angry with his servant, told him to do the following :—On a particular day Parapaḷi Nāyaka was to take the bunch of plantains to the sea, and dcing obeisance (to the ocean) was to throw the plantains into the waters. The Brahman said that the ocean would then send three waves—the first and second would throw metals and precious stones on to the shore, but Parapaḷi Nāyaka was not to collect them. Whatever the third wave brought was to be taken to his home.

Parapaḷi Nāyaka faithfully followed the instructions of his master. The first and the second breaker brought forth glittering metals and shining diamonds respectively. These he threw back into the sea. A third wave swept clean over the beach and left behind it one single pebble in the shape of an axe. Parapaḷi after some moments of doubt as to whether or not he should take this piece of stone, at last carried it to his hut. That evening he threw it in a

niche in the wall, where he kept his scythe. Forgetting the day's strange happenings, he fell asleep.

On the morrow when he started for work in his field, he was stunned to see his scythe turned into gold ! Running to his master, he narrated everything begging the Brahman's forgiveness. The Brahman instead of rebuking him told him the use to which the stone could be put, but warned him to use it sparingly. Parapaḷi carried out his master's injunctions to the letter. He turned iron into gold but never made use of the wealth for himself. He continued to serve his old master and to live in his old dilapidated hut. But he bought land at enormous price and bestowed it upon the poor. This he did not only in Tuḷuva but also in the regions of the Ghats, Keraḷa, and even in distant Tirupati.

Honest Parapali drew upon himself the envy of the great land-owners and others. Once he went to Basarūru in order to buy land for cattle. It was his custom to buy land at different places and turn it into public grazing ground. At Basariiu, however, the people looked with suspicion on his wealth and refused to sell plots of land to him. At last Parapaḷi prevailed upon them, and it was agreed that so much of land was to be given to him as would be covered by a stone trough. The condition being that he was to pay the price of the plot, in as much gold as the trough would hold. Parapaḷi paid the money but when constructing the trough, caused it so to be shaped that it bulged out in

the middle to an extent the wily citizens of Basarūru had not anticipated. All land below the trough became the property of Parapaḷi Nāyaka.

His deeds consisted mostly in gifts of land tor cattle- Everywhere, especially in the Uḍipi tāluka, large plots of waste land are now shown as "Paḷipaṭa Nayaka's *dharma*". Most often these plots of land contain single slabs of granite placed perpendicularly on the ground. They bear no inscription. But some times nearabouts there is an image of the god Hanumanta. The following places contain many such stones : - Baṇṇiñje, where he is said to have lived ; Guṇḍibailu near the Maṟya Guṇḍi temple, Ādi Uḍipi on the small hillock where stands the *gudi* (or shrine) of the powerful devil Bobbariye, and Kukkehaḷḷi near Kṭḷiñje where an inscription which is said to have contained details concerning his deeds, has been recently destroyed.

Parapaḷi Nāyaka's last days were spent in charity as well. It was his wish that the Philosopher's Stone should pass into the hands of an equally generous person, now that he was getting old and that his end was approaching. His Brahman master advised him to entertain the men of the locality with a grand feast. The Stone was immersed in one of the huge cauldrons used in Tuḷuva for preparing the dishes. It was agreed that the stone should become his property on whose plantain leaif it would be served. But serve as they would, the stone dropped only on the leaf of Parapaḷi Nāyaka!

Since there was none who was worthy of getting the Stone, on the advice of his Brahman master, Parapaḷi Nāyaka threw it back into ocean from where he had secured it.[1]

To revert to the story of the Alupa ruler in whose reign Parapaḷi Nãyaka lived. A third stone inscription found at Beḷuvãyi in the Kãrkaḷa tãluka is to be assigned also to the same P£ṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Kavi Alupendra. It opens in the usual manner with *svisti S'ri;* and proceeds directly to narrate that in the victorious and increasing reign of Srĩmat Pãṇḍya

1. Another story is also current in Tuḷuva concerning the manner in which he got the I hilosopher's Stone. It is the following -.- Onee many pilgrims assembled in the Anantesvara temple at Uqlipi with a view to proceed to Tirupati. At the repeated requests of Parapaji Nâyaka, they agreed to take him along \Mth them as a load-bearer. To while away their time they atked him, in the course of their journey, what he, who could not even perform a *puja,* would do if god Govinda appeared to him and blessed him. He replied that he would do good to the people. They laughed at his simplicity. On reaching Tirupati, Parapali found that every body neglected him because he Mas a poor man. Sorry beyond measure, he tat under a tree and prayed to God that if only He took pity on him, he would pray at others did and do good to the world. Juit then a monkey came over head and dropped a pebble on Parapaji. Regretting that even animals felt no pity for him, Parapaḷi threw aside the pebble. The monkey repeated his pranks thrice, when for the third time the pebrle touched the betel-leaf pestle which turned instantly into gold. Blessing the monkey, Parapaji went to the bazar and sold his gold, and to the surprise of all, gave dinners to his fellow travellers and performed many *pujas* in the temple. Returning to Tulxtva, he began to give munificent gifts, and is said to have converted *Tiribudu* ( Loafer's Quarters ) of Uclipi into *Siribudu* ( i. e., Sribudu or Wealthy Quarters ). He lived till the end of his life in the tame old hut which he had occupied before going to Tirupati. B. A. S.

Cakravartin Pāṇḍya Deva, which was to endure as long as the moon and the stars may last, *(S^'imat PāṇṢya Cakravarti Pandya-devara rajya-abhivrddhi prvrddhama[ncm] ācandrārkka-tārāvara [tdrāṁbaram] salutam ire),* Mahiāpradhāna Arasu Heggaḍe, Kunni Gauḍa's officers (? *cōram),* Mujavuru of Devala Kanda, and Hāraḍe Deva, made a grant (the details of which are effaced) to Uvara (?). The date is given with the following incomplete details—*Mlnadalu Brahulva* (? *Bahuḷa) Meṣa māsa Ādlmra}*

Since we know that in A . D . 1138 Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Kavi Alupendra was ruling, we have to construe the above record hailing from Beḷuvāyi as one that refers only to the same ruler.

A fourth stone inscription may also be assigned to him. It was found in the Pañcalinge^vara temple at Bārakūru. The epigraph opens in the manner given above and continues to relate that in the victorious reign, augmenting with perpetual increase which was to endure so long as the moon and the sun and stars may last, of Bhujabaḷa (la) Kavi Alupendradeva, *(vije[a]yarā . . . m-uttara-uttara-abhivr . . pravarddham-ācandrārkka-ārāmbar am-salutam ire),* an endowment (specified in detail ) w[r]as made. The grant made in the presence of the god Mārkaṇḍeśvara at Bārakūru, evidently refers to lands in Sūrala (mod. Surāla) to Sūrala Toḷaha for the *naivedya-sāle* (oblations hall ?) constructed by (in honour of ?) Sivānanda Yōgi. The epigraph is dated *S'aka-*

1. *67 of 1901 ; S. I. /.,* VII, **No. 237, p. 120.**

*nṛpa kālatita-saṁvatsarada 1062 neya Siddhārthi saṁvat* sarada Vais'ākha māsam* which evidently refers to Śaka 1062 current corresponding to A.D. 1139 April.[1]

Another stone inscription found in the Mahālingeśvara temple at Basarūru, Kundāpūru tāluka, confirms the above titles of the ruler. This epigraph informs us that Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Vīra Kavi Ālupendradeva made a gift for providing offerings to the god Gaṇapati in the presence of the god Nakhareśvara at Basuṛepura (mod. Basarūru). The grant is dated in Saka 1077, Bhāva, Dhanus Saṅkramaṇa which corresponds to A.D. 1154 December.[3]

Of these five records the first one, *viz.*, that dated in \.D. 1113-4 calls the king merely as ruling the kingdom—*S'rī Kāvyālpendra Dēvara rājyadalu.* This suggests that he acknowledged a suzerain in that year. But in A.D. 1138 he is called *Pāṇḍya Cakravarti*; while the *biruda* of *Bhujabala* and the phrase relating to the victorious and augmenting reign given above, and as mentioned in his record dated A.D. 1140, clearly indicate his prowess and the stability of his independent kingdom. The *biruda* of Vīra prefixed to his name in A.D. 1154 is a further testimony to his independent position.

1. 776 *of 1901 ; S. I. I.* VII., No. 381, p. 236 , Suamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.* III, *p.* 280.

, 2. *416 of 1927-8;* Swamikannu, *ibid,* p. 311. The god Nakhareśvara is rather an uncommon name. The god Nakhareśvara of Viṣṇusamudra in Asandi-nāḍ is mentioned in A.D. 1143, A.D. 1240, and in A.D. 1253. *E. C.* VI. Kd. 99, 100 & 101, pp. 18-19. B. A. S.

A sixth stone record found in the Pancalingesvara temple at Kōṭekēri in Bārakūru, conclusively proves that he was an independent king. This epigraph alter beginning only with *svasti* proceeds directly to give the imperial titles of the ruler thus :—*Samasta-bhuvanāśraya S'rhprthvl'Vallabha Mahārajadhirajā Parames'vara Paramahhaṭṭarakar-appa S'r'imat Pāṇḍya Cakravarti Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra Devaru Barahakanycipurada aramaneya (lu) sukhasankathd vinodadim rajyamgeyyuttamire.* (The Refuge ot all the worlds, the Favourite of the Earth [and] Fortune, Mahārājadhirāja, Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Śrīmat Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva was ruling the kingdom of the world in peace and wisdom from his palace at Bārahakanyāpura). The date is given thus :—*Sa (S'a) ka-varṣa 1077 neya Yuva. sarhvatsarada Karkkaṭa-masa prcthamaSdma varadandu.* This works out correctly to A.D. 1155, June, Monday the 27th.[1]

The other details of this interesting record will be given in a later connection. On the strength of this inscription as well as on that of the above, it may be asserted that from about A.D. 1138 till A.D. 1155 Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Vlra Kavi Alupendradeva continued to rule as an independent king. His capital, we may note incidentally, was named Bārahakanyāpura, the original god *(mula-deva)* of which was called Mārkaṇḍeśvara.

**1,** ***171 of 1901 ; S. I. I.*** **VII., No. 376, pp. 231-2 ; Swamikannu,** ***Ind. Ephem.,*** **I I I . , p. 312.**

A seventh undated stone inscription relating to the same Alupa ruler and found also in the same Pañcalinge-Svara temple at Koṭekṛi, will be cited later on while describing the foreign relations of the Alupas.[1]

On the back of a sculptured slab set up near the Gummaṭa statue at Vēnuru is another stone epigraph which may be assigned to the same age. The inscription opens in the usual Alupa manner with *svasti Sri,* and then continues to relate that for a religious performance *(sarpūjakke)* of the *MahāmmĄale'sVara* Sevyagellara, a stone was erected to commemorate for a thousand years the exhibition of horsemanship by him (? *S'ri Seoyage larasa sahasra va s ikke ve\e valiyum)hy* order of *[besadiṃ)* Kājuva Mainduvāḷda of the Binni Verggaḍe *baḷi.* The date given is *Sa (S a)ka-nṛpa kālrtita* 1040 *neya Viḷambi-samv tsarada Kārtt kada Amaoāsya Budhavara-d nuix* which corresponds to A.D. 1118, November the 15th Friday, the week day not corresponding. The phrase used for *Mahamardalesvara* Sevyagellara is the following:—*S irppujakke ālulkeyan ek i-cchatradind āḷdu rājyam gevyuttam ire* What the words *s rppujakke calulkeyum* stand for, cannot be made out. But from the latter part of the expression, it seems that he was enjoying some sort of independence. The epigaph concludes thus:—S'o· *Seoyafteltàr lyum s'ri yumakke* (?; *mafigala muhr* Sri.'

We have seen that Kavi Alupendra ruled also over that portion o, Tuḷuva now represented by the Kārkaḷa

1. *ljr. Ch. III.* Sec Mil

.. 80 *A of 1901 ;* S. /. /. VII, No. 2 8, p. 131. Swamikannn, *Ind. Ephem.* III, f . 139 On Pricay the 11th November there was Amavasya.

tāluka, that his reign began in about A. D. 1113-4, but that it was only from A.D. 1138 that we have evidence of his independent rule. It is possible that *Mahāmaṇḍales'vara* Sevyagellara was either a chieftain of foreign stock who had established himself in about A.D. Il18 within the limits of Tuḷuva in the region which afterwards came to be associated with the Pāṇḍyas ; or that he was a member of the Ālupa family who had set himself up as an independent chieftain.[1]

The latter supposition seems to be more probable. The beginning and ending of Fevyagellara's Veṇūru inscription confirms this view. And the undated Beḷuvāyi stone inscription of Kavi Alupendradeva may be recalled here. The absence of the *birudas Vīra* and *Bhuja'ala,* and of the *phrase-vijiyn-rojyam uttara—uttara—abhvṛddhi praṇrddha-mānam=acandīvikka-tārāmbaram-saluttam-ire-'m* the Beḷuvāyi record suggests that when it was engraved Kavi Ālupendra had to contend with an opponent whoever he was. The inclusion of the phrase *eka-cchattradind-ā\du rājyoṃ geyyuttam-ire,* on the other hand, in the inscription of the *Mahāmi) ḍales'Vara* Sevyagellara, clearly points to an assumption of royal power by that chieftain.

1. There is a Śri Siyagellirasa mentioned in an incomplete itone ini crip tion found in afield in Rāunragrāma, Holavanahaḷḷi, Maddagiri tr.l'ika, Mytorc Stite. This epigraph records the death of Sri Siyagtllaras,a s tervant Kaṇāketu s son Deveya, vvhen Nolamba tookHhe Tagalurfort. *E.* C. X I I , M i . 38, p. 108. Hice has assigned it to A.D. 950. We do not know whether Siy gellarasa was the same as Sevyagellarasa. B. A. S.

j ' , i We may not he wrong in assuming, therefore, that 3oon after A.D. 1118 or thereahouts, Kavi Ālupendra had to struggle probably against Sevyageilara Whose *biruda* of *Mahāmaṇḍale'svara* shows his subordinate position, obviously in the Ālupa family. But it may be observed at the same time that he was the first chieftain to assume that *biruda,* at least so far as the available records are concerned. Whether this is granted or not, it seems certain that during the long reign of Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva *(circa* A.D. 1113-A.D. 1155), an independent foreign ruler could not have reigned within the boundaries of the Ālupa kingdom.

Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva's successor was Jagadevarasa. Of this ruler an indirect reference is found in a *vlragal* near the Siddheśvara temple in the Bairapura village in the Sāgar hōbji, Shimoga district, Mysore State. The *vlragal* narrates the following-—"On Thursday the 5th lunar day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in the year Tāraṇa, being the 19th year of the illustrious Vira Santaradeva, *Obtainer of the band of five musical instruments, Mahāmaṇḍales'vara, possessed of excellent boons from Padmāvath delighter in musk, having all these and other titles",...*—when the Kaḷacuriya king Tribhuvanamalla Bijjaṇadevarasa was at Kalyāṇa, "The illustrious Hiriya Daṇṇāyaka ordered Araḷaiyan and Paḍalaiyan of Banavase 12,000 and Siṅgideva of Hombuccha to lead an attack on Blrarasa of Hosagunda. Thereupon an army of 10,000 horsemen

and 50,000 foot-soldiers went to battle". Then the record contains the name of the Ālupa king Jagadevarasa and a description of the heroic deeds of Haḷeyamma, son of Aibiseṭṭi, *telliga* (oil-monger) of Nellivāḍi, and his death.

Dr. Krishna, who has edited and translated this *viragal* in his *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department* for 1930, comments thus:—"This *viragal* describes the exploits of a hero named Haḷeyamma of Nellivadi in a battle against the Aluva king Jagadevarasa. There was also a fight between Bīrarasa of Hosagunda and his over-lord Vīra Sāntaradeva ". Dr. Krishna assigns this *viragal* which contains no Saka year but only the cyclic year Tāraṇa and the week day, to A.D. 1164 on the strength of the reference to the Kaḷacuriya king Bijjaḷa.[1] With this correct date before us, we shall proceed to locate the Jagadevarasa mentioned above in the Ālupa genealogy.

Vīra Sāntara is undoubtedly a Sīmtara ruler, as the name signifies. If the date given above is accepted, Vīra Sāntara was a contemporary of the Kajacuriya

1. *My. Archl. Ropt.for 1930, pp. 223-6.* Dr. Krhhna translates the parage thus: — " The ill'ittrioiis Hiriya Daṇṇayaka Araḷaiyan and Paḍal nya of Banavate 12,000 and Singideva of Hombuchcha ordered a military expedition againtt Birarasa of Hosagunda" (p. 225). This is incorrect, for the original runt, thus, : Srimetu *Hiriy dannd-y, k. ru Ar /. iymu B,navrse-pi nnir-cchdsid, ra-Paḍi h iyy, itu Hon buchad i Singidfvnum Hosrgund, da Bir* rasana mele nad duhsg-znalu"* (p. 223, 11. 4-6». Here whereat. Hiriya Daṇṇayaka is given the plural, all the others under hit- commad are spoken of in the singular, thus justifying the translation we have given above. B.i^.S.

king Bijjaḷal Deva. And since the *vlragal* is dated in the nineteenth year of Vīra Sāmara's reign, he may be placed, as Dr. Krishna rightly says, between A.D. 1146 and A.D. 1164 or thereabouts, Bijjaja Deva having reigned trom A.D. 1156 till A.D. 1167.[1]

We have now to fix the dates of the Alupa king Jagadevarasa and his position in contemporary history. It may be argued that he was the same as the Vīra Jagadeva mentioned in the PañcalingesVara stone inscription found at Kōṭekeṛi in Bārakūru. But the following considerations will prove that they were not identical:—

(1) The Pañcalmgeśvara temple record calls Jagadeva merely Vira Jagadeva, while the SiddheSvara temple record styles him Alupa Jagadeva.

1. The identification ot the Vira Śāntara Deva mentioned m this* record is a difficult matter. It is clear from the Siddhesvara templt *niragal* that his nineteenth regnal year was A.D. 1164, i.e., his first regnal year was A.D. 1146. But from A.D. 1146 till A.D. 1164 we have MX Sāntara names Vikrama Sāntara (A.D. 1147), Jagadevarasa (A.D. 1149), Bommarasa (A.D. 1152), Rāya TailapaDeva (A D. 1159), jagadevarasa (A.D. 1160), and Singi Deva (A.D. 1165-A.D. 1166). *(E. C.* VII, Sk. 103, pp. 74-75; *ibid,* VIII. Sa. 28, Sa. 93, Sa. 112, Sa. 113, Sa. 114, Sa. 159, and Nr. 47, pp. 108, 115, 122-123, 151-2.) But a Vira Śāntara Deva figures in the records of A.D. 1170, A.D. 1173, A.D. 1191, and A.D. 1194. *(E. C.* VIII, Sa. 116, p. 116; *ibid,* VII Sh. 116, p. 37; Sk. 38, p 49; *My. Arch. Rept.* for 1931, pp. 204-208; and *ibid* for 1930, pp 220-222). What the Kaḷacuriya monarch Bijjaḷadeva had to do with Banavase is apparent from two records dated A.D. 1162 respectively. These mention king Pāṇḍya in the Nojarhbavāṭi and Barmarasa Daṇṇāyaka over the Banavase 12,000, under the same monarch. *(E. C.* XI, Dg. 42, Dg. 84, pp. 54, 67). A further elucidation of this question is outside the present limits of our treatise. B. A. S,

(2) Vira Jagadeva of the Pañcalingevara temple inscription has been assigned to A.D. 1104-A.D. 1149-50, i. *e.*, he has been given a period of nearly forty-five years. The Alupa Jagadeva being a contemporary of Vīra Sāntara and of king Bijjaḷa Deva must be placed between A.D. 1146 and A.D. 1176. If he were the same as the Vira Jagadeva of the Paiicalingeśvara temple inscription, he would have to be given an unusually long reign from A.D. 1104 till A.D. 1176. This is inadmissible.

(3) We know from Alupa records that Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Kavi Alupendra ruled from A.D. 1113 till A.D. 1155. It cannot be that another \lupa king reigned at the same time.

We have, therefore, to place Alupa Jagadeva either before Bhujabala Kavi Alupendra or after him. The former is inadmissible, because Alupa Jagadeva was a contemporary of Vira Sāntara and of king Bijjaḷa Deva Hence he must be placed between A.D. 1146 and A.D. 1176. We know that there is a gap in the Alupa genealogy after Bhujabala Kavi Alupendra and before Kulasekhara Alupendra whose first year is A.D. 1170. Alupa Jagadeva fills in this gap between Bhujabala Kavi Alupendra and Kulaśekhara Alupendra. If this is allowed, then, Alupa Jagadeva ruled from A.D. 1155 till A.D. 1170. Only in this way can we reconcile the date A.D. 1164 given to the *vira gal* by Dr. Krishna with the chronological difficulties of the Alupa kings in the period after Bhujabala Kavi Alupendra and before Rulasekhara Alupendra.

One question, however, remains still to be discussed —the status of Alupa Jagadeva in the Siddhe£vara record. From Dr. Krishna's note given above, it is not clear whether we have to take Alupa Jagadeva as an ally or enemy of Vīra Sāntara Deva. What seems certain is that Bīrarasa of Hosagunda had taken the offensive ; that Hiriya Daṇṇāyaka ordered Araḷaiyan, Padaḷaiyan, and Siṅgideva to concert measures against him; and that Hajeyamma of Nellivāḍi died the death of a hero. Dr. Krishna's note seems to suggest that there >vere two fights—one in which Haḷeyamma lost his life against Alupa Jagadevarasa, and the other in which Bīrarasa of Hosagunda fought against his overlord Vīra Sāntara.

But this may be questioned. The *vlragal* mentions only *one* encounter, and it does not suggest that Vīra Sāmara was the overlord of Bīrarasa of Hosagunda. That the *vīragal* describes only one encounter can be found out by noticing how and when Alupa Jagadeva comes in the story. The original clearly says that on the attack made by Bīrarasa of Hosagunda, 10,000 cavalry and 50,000 infantry were called to action. These numbers are significant: the offensive conducted by Bīrarasa was evidently of a very serious nature necessitating the united action of three provincial officials.

It was to meet such a grave contingency that Alupa Jag-adeva's aid was called into requisition. We prove that he was asked to join the battle against Bīrarasa from the context itself which relates that when 10,000

cavalry and 50,000 infantry had gone to war *(hat[t]u sāsira kudure aivatta sāsira-āḷa-daḷa dhurake hodalli),* the Ālva king Jagadevarasa from below the Ghats (being a party) in the struggle, proceeded, ravaging the districts *(Ghatada kelagana Ālvarasu Jagadevarasan-olagagi nadedu-nāḍa-kiḍisuttav irah).* Alupa Jagadeva's position can best be understood by noting the meaning of the phrase *oḷagagi naḍedu* which may be interpreted thus—"came in the struggle (and) proceeded." The inscription does not warrant the supposition that xAlupa Jagadevarasa was accompanied by others. It merely records his participation in the battle and the havoc he caused in the country (of the enemy).

The exploits of Haḷeymma were evidently directed against Bīrarasa and not against Ālupa Jagadeva, although it must be confessed that the reference to the army which burnt Gauja and which was marching to Andāsara is not ascertainable.

We have now to explain why Alupa Jagadeva could not have fought against Vīra Sāntara, and why Bīrarasa could not have been a feudatory of the latter. Tf our identification of Alupa Jagadevarasa mentioned in the Siddheśvara temple record with the successor of Bhujabala Kavi Alupendra is correct, then, Ālupa Jagadeva could not have led an army against the Sāntara king. It was only in the preceding reign of Bhujabala Kavi Alupendra that the Alupa-Sāntara alliance had been cemented by a marriage between that Alupa king and a Sāntara princess. Until the contrary is proved,

we have to assume that this good feeling continued in the times of Bhujabala Kavi Alupendra's successor: and that Alupa Jagadevarasa marched against Bīrarasa of Hosagunda on behalf of his ally Vīra Śāntara Deva.

As against this the following may be argued:—Thai the inscription mentions the Ālupa king as *Ālvarasu Jagadevarasanu,* thereby calling him in the singular. The Hosagunda ruler is likewise called in the singular--osagundada *Birarasawi mele.* This proves that both Bīrarasa and Jagadevarasa were enemies to the Śāntara king. But this objection is of no avail. Vfra Śāntara himself is styled merely *S'rimatu VlraS'fintara Deva,* and no plural termination is appended to his name Likewise the three provincial officials who helped Hiriya Daṇṇāyaka, *viz.,* Araḷaiyan, Paḍalaiyan ol Banavase 12,000, and Sihgideva ot Humbuccha, are called m the singular. The reason seems to be that the scribe mentions with respect only the provincial viceroy, the illustrious *(S'rlmatu)* Hiriya Daṇṇāyaka, and the suzerain Bijjaja Deva.

The second objection that may be raised against our surmise is that the Hosagunda rulers, as shown elsewhere in this treatise, were called '* Shaker of the Tulu Raya', ' Promoter of the Tulu kingdom" "Establisher of the Tulu Raya"; that these three *biradas* were borne by the later Hosagunda chiefs evidently in commemoration of the help which Bīrarasa of Hosagunda had given to Alupa Jagadeva ; and that, therefore, we have to suppose that Alupa

Jagadeva really helped Bīrarasa against Vlra Sāntara. These considerations are invalidated by the fact that the *birudas* in question were borne by Hosagunda chiefs in the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. They are not of any use for our purpose,

Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Vlra Kulaśekhara Alupendra I succeeded Alupa Jagadevarasa Of this ruler five stone inscriptions have been found in Tuḷuva:—the stone inscription in the Mahalingesvara temple atBasaruru in the Kundāpīiru tāluka; an untinished stone record found in the Mahalingesvara temple at Kota in the Uḍipi tāluka; two defaced stone inscriptions found in the Gauri temple in that quarter of Mudubidre called Prāntya; and a stone slab set up in front of the verandah of the Nemisvara *basti* in Yarariga, also in the Karkala tāluka.

'The Mahālingeśvara temple record found at Basarūru is a damaged epigraph but is dated only in the cyclic year Manmatha, Makaramāsa, 18, Monday. The cyclic year corresponds to Saka 1098 (A.D. 1176) and the date intended is probably January the 12th Monday. It merely records a gift to the temple of Nakharesvara of the *paṭiana* Basarūru. The king is given the following *birudas—Samasta-bhuvana-Vihhyāta, Soma-kula-tilaka, Mahārājadhiraja, Rājaparames' vara, Paramabhattārakar-appa S'rīmat Pandya Cahravarti Kulas' ekharadeva.*'

1. *419* **of** *7927-8; Ep. Rep-for J927-8,* **p. 44.**

The unfinished and undated stone epigraph also of the same ruler but found in the Mahalingesvara temple at Kōṭa only mentions (a gift to) the god of Kōṭa.[1]

The two defaced stone inscriptions of this ruler found in the Gauri temple at Prāntya in Mūḍubidre may now be examined. The earlier of these two records is dated *Sa(Śa)ka-nrpa kalatita samvatsara* 1 12 (7) *neya Krodhana samvatsarada Mesạ māsa 17 neya Adivliradandu.* This corresponds correctly to A.D. 1205 April the 10th Sunday/

Opening in the usual Alupa manner, it proceeds to give the *birudas* of the luler thus:—*Pāṇḍya Cakravarti Ko (Ku) lase (śe) khara Ālyendra-devar,* and then relates that under the shadow of his sole umbrella *(eka>cehatra-diṃ rāj yaṃ geyyuttaṃ ire),* (on the given date), a deed of charity *(dharma-karṛya)* was made by some prominent citizens including a *Mahapradhana,whose* name is effaced, and others for the goddess Durgā. On this occasion a grant of land from their *brahmadeya* estates to the same goddess was made by Jjhuṅkunjanā Deva, his son Narena Inā (Jjhana ?) Deva, and his son-in-law Vāsu Deva, embodying the same in a stone inscription *(śilā likhida [likhita] śāsanam).*[2]

In the other stone inscription also found in the same Gauri temple, we have the following *biradas* given to the ruler :—*S'rlmat Pandya Cakravarti Raya Bhujabala*

1. *507 of 1028-9*
2. Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephetn.,* IV, p. 12
3. *52 of 1001 ; S. I. I.,* VII, No. 223, p. 112.

*(la) Vira Kola (Kula) Se(S'e) khara Ālvendra deva.* His victorious and increasing reign is given thus :—*vije (ja) ya-rājyim-uttara~uttara-abhivrddhi-pravrddha-manaṁ-acan-drārkka-tārambaradim sukha-safikatha-vinodadim saluttav (m) -ire.* The inscription is dated in *Vi (su) s'o manāḷu* 158 (0) 1 (6) 2 (?) *Kahyuga van (ru) sa (ṣa)* 4315 *sand-andu* 6 *ru māle tiaḍa (vu) tird-andu Yuva samvatsarada Kes'ava māsa pfathama dina...Vad (d) a vāram.* This corresponds to S'aka 1137 Yuva (A.D. 1215 April the 16th Thursday). The details of the grant to the goddess Durgā and to the Jaina Tirthankara Parsvanatha that follow are defaced. Nevertheless they will be discussed later on while dealing with the history of the religion under the Ālupas. The Vīra Pāṇḍya Deva mentioned in this record could only have been Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhuja-bala Vira Pāṇḍya Ālupendra referred to above in this treatise. The record under review[7] breaks off at the end.[1]

The patronage which Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Kavi Kulaśekhara Alupendra extended to the Jaina religion, as is proved by the above record, is further corroborated by a long but undated and damaged inscription on a slab set up in front of the verandah of the Nemīśvara *basii* in Varaṅga in the Kārkaḷa tāluka. It is this record

1. *51 of 1901, S. I. I.* VII, No. 222, pp. 111-2; Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.*, IV, p. 32. Kali 4315 expired = Kali 4316 current which agrees with Śaka 1137. I am unable to interpret the figures preceding Kaliyuga in this record. Mr. Rama Rao informs me that Keśavamāsa is equivalent probably to Mādhava which is the same as Vaiśākha. In the present reckoning it has been taken as Vaisakha, B. A. S.

that gives us the name of Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Kavi Alupendra's predecessor as Pāṇḍya Paṭṭoḍeya whom we identified with Udayādityarasa Pāṇḍya Paṭṭigadeva Alupa above. 1`he inscription further supplies us with the names oi the queen Jākala Mahādevi's younger brother Vlra Bhupala *(a Ma [hadevi] ya anaja).* who is praised *thus-dava (na)-S'aurya-sara* Vlra Bhūpāla It was he who made public the grant given by Jākala Mahādevl. ´The inscription gives further the names of Paṇḍita Pāṇḍya, and of the three Jaina priests Maladhārī Deva, Mādhavacandra, and Prabhācandra.[1]

The reign of Bhujabala Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva I was the longest in Ālupa history. According to the direct evidence of the epigraphs given above, his rule lasted from A.D. 1176 till A.D. 1215. Hut on the strength of an inscription concerning the well-known Konkan ruler Jayakeśi 1, to be mentioned in a later context, we believe that the first year of Bhujabala Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva was A.D. 1170. There cannot be any doubt that Bhujabala Kulasekhara Ālupendradeva I ruled for forty-fi\e years from A.D. 1170 till A.D. 1215. His age is memorable not onḥ from the point of view of its length but also from the standpoint of the stability of the Ālupa kingdom. We have

**1.** ***526 ,of 7928-29, Ep. Rept. for 1928-9*** **pp. 79-80. See also** ***Ep Rept.for 1927-8;*** **pp. 59-60 where Mr. Venkoba Rao rightly identifier KulaSeRhara Deva of** ***419 of 1927-8*** **with Kulaśekhara Deva of** ***52 of 1901.*** **In** ***526 of 1928-9*** **the following** ***birudas*** **precede the name Paṛujita Pandya—** ***jagat-prasiddha vidyd-vildsini suvarna-kundala-dbhararw Pi(a)ytdiṭa Pāṇḍyan-misi Pañdya-nanda,*** **etc.**

seen the assertion made in his records that his was a victorious and augmenting reign. [1] The praise bestowed on him in the epigraphs seems justified : for to preserve the integrity of the Alupa kingdom which his predecessor Bhujabala Kavi Alupendra had firmly established, inspite of the many aggressive designs of foreign Karnāṭaka rulers, was indeed a remarkable achievement. We shall deal with the troubles in the reign of this ruler, while delineating the foreign relations of the Alupas.

Bhujabala Kavi Alupendradeva Is successor was Nūrmmaḍi Cakravartin. [1] This is inferred from the NemfSvara *basti* inscription which narrates the following *:—alle baliyam Patti-Oḍeya Kula'sekhara-deva rajya-nantaraṃ Rāya-gajāhku'san immaḍida rajan Nurmmaḍi-Cakra-varti dāna-cihtāmaṇi catus-samudra-mudrita-kirti-kāntā-mano-vallabhan-enisi* '...The absence of the intervening names of Bhujabala Kavi Alupendradeva and of Jagadevarasa in this context is for the present inexplicable. However, we may note that Nūrmmaḍi Cakravartin had the *birada* of *Rāya-gajāfiku'sa*, and that he seems to have been celebrated for his gifts as the *birudas* " A wishing gem(Philospher's Stone) of charity", and "the Favourite of the lady Fame who had spread to the limits of the four seas", clearly imply. Since it is stated in the epigraph that he came after Kulasekhara Alupendra-deva, he may be assigned to the period intervening between Kulas'ekhara Alupendradeva I and Vibudha-

1. *526 of 1928-9.*

vasu. He may, therefore, have reigned from A.D. 1216 till A.D. 1256.[1]

Nūrmmaḍi Cakravartin's successor was Vibudhavasu. The sources of information for the reign of this king are the *Grāmapaddhati* and a stone inscription found in the Mahālingeśvara temple at Koṭa in the Uḍipi tāluka. The Puttige *maṭha* version of the *Grāmapaddhati* merely calls him Vasu but describes him at some length, thus :-Once there was a king named Vasu. He was the substance of virtue, and was known as Indra of the Earth. While he ruled, the earth was filled with plenty, and falsehood and thieving were unknown. He was highly learned and well versed in the science of politics. *(purā tu parthivaḥ kaścit aslt sara-guṇanvitaḥ, nāmnā Vasuḥ iti khyātaḥ yam viduh bhupurandaram. tasmin s'āsati bhtipālekṣorfim sarvasamṛddhimm; anrtatvaṃ taskaratvam nasti-iti ahuh mariisinah...maha-prajnah niti-'sastravisaradah).* We shall have to refer to this again while describing the judicial procedure common in ancient Tuḷuva.[2]

That king Vasu of the *Gramapaddhati* belonged to the Ālupa family there cannot be any doubt. The Mahālingeśvara temple stone inscription of this ruler, dated Saka 1166, Ananda ( A.D. 1244-5 ), maintains that he belonged to the Pāṇḍya line, and that be gave a

1. The Government Epigraphist (Mr. K. V, Subrahmanya Aiyer) makes Nūrmmadi Cakravartin, Vīra Bhūpāla, and Kundaṇa brothers^ *Ep Rep'oj the S. Circle for 1928-9, pp. 79-80.* But in the transcript sent to me the name Kundaṇa cannot be traced. The meaning of *alle baliyam* and *immadida rajan* is not clear. B. A. S.

2. The Puttige version. *Infra* Ch. V.

village valued at 1,000 pagodas as a gift,[1] evidently to the same temple. We have seen that the Alupa rulers of this age assumed the cognomen Pāṇḍya. This explains why Vibudhavasu is called a ruler who belonged to the Pāṇḍya line. The Pāṇḍya family mentioned here does not refer to the Paṇḍyas of Madura at all but to another family who had nothing to do with them. For our purpose we may note that Vibudhavasu's reign fits in very well the gap between Nūrmmaḍi Cakravartin and Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Alupendradeva I.[2]

His successor was Vira Paṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva I. Eight stone inscriptions of this ruler and a ninth concerning his crowned queen have been found in Tuḷuva. These are the stone inscriptions in the Mahālingesvara temple at Kōṭa in the Uḍipi tāluka ; another stone epigraph in the Mahālingeśvara temple at Brahmāvūru also in the same tāluka; a third one in the Mahiṣāsuramardinī temple at Nīlāvara also in the same tāluka; a fourth one in the Koṭeśvara temple at Kotesvara in the Kundapuru taluka; a fifth inscription found in the Kundēśvara temple at Kundāpūru; and a sixth discovered in the Viṣṇu temple at Puttige in the Uḍipi tāluka. Two more inscriptions found in the Mahālingeśvara temple at Padūru in the Uḍipi tāluka, may also be assigned to the reign of the same ruler. The ninth stone inscription which mentions his queen

1. Rangachari, *Top. List.* I No. 217, p. 869.

2. It may be that Vatu was given the title of *Vibudha* (the Wise) because of his learning. B. A. S.

was found in the Mahisasuramardini temple in Nilavara in the same tāluka.

The stone inscription found in the Mahalingesvara temple at Kōṭa supplies the earliest date for Vīra Pāṇḍya Deva Alupendradeva. It is dated Saka 1177 when Jupiter was in Mithuna, Ananda, Bhādrapada, Bahuḷa, 10 Sunday, Kanyā 10 which agrees, but for the week day which happens to be Monday, with 7 September A.D. 1254. The record embodies an order issued by the king in the presence of Aḷiya Bankideva, Maiduna (brother-in-law) Oḍḍamadeva, Ballaveggaḍe, and kt the Thousand of Kotta " *i.e* , Kota *(Kottada sasirvaram)*, while he was ruling from his capital Bārahakanyāpura. It cannot be made out whether the Aḷiya Bankideva was the king's nephew or his son-in-law, and whether he is to be identified with a ruler of the same name whose earliest record, as will be narrated presently, is dated A.D. 1302. The Alupa ruler is styled thus—*V'ira Paṇḍya Āḷupendradevara vijayarājyam-uttara-uttara pravrddkamānam dcandrārka tāramharam saluttam-irddu.*[1]

The next stone inscription found in the MahāliṅgeSvara temple at Brahmāvūru is dated Saka 1177 when Jupiter was in Mithuna, Ananda, Asvayija (Asvija), Su. 15, Monday, Kanyā 30 Saṅkramaṇa Monday, which agrees with Monday the 28th September A.D. 1254. This record opens with a salutation to Ganapati (S'ri *Ganādhipataye namaḥ).* The king, who is called Pāṇḍya

1. 509 *of 1928-9 : Ep. Rep. for 1928-9,* p. 57,

Cakravartin Arirāya-Gajakesarin Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva, is said to have been seated in the durbar hall in his palace at Bārahakanyāpura with Ajiya Bankideva, Maiduna Oḍḍamadeva, Ballaveggaḍe, ministers *(pradhānaru)* and *ourohits** when he made a gift to the Two Hundred *(Brahmavaradali nurirvarige)* of Brahmavuru.

While seated in the same palace at Bārahakanyāpura along with the same nephew and Oḍḍamadeva Narasinga Heggaḍe, the ministers, and the *purohits,* Vira Pāṇḍyadeva Alupendradeva made a gift (of gold) to the Three Hundred of Niruvara *(Niruvarada mannuruarige).* as is related in the damaged stone record found in the Mahiṣāsuramardinī temple at Nīlāvara in the Uḍipi tāluka. The date of this inscription is given thus :-- Saka 1181, Pingaḷa , Phālguṇa, Bahuḷa 5, Sunday, when Jupiter was in Kanya. Mina 1, Saturday which corresponds to February the 24th Sunday and February the 23rd Saturday A.D. 1258. The king is expressly stated in this record to have been seated on the throne in the older (senior) palace at Barahakanyapura *(S'rimatu rajadhani Barahakanyapurada hiriya-aramaneyalu)/*

The Koṭeśvara temple stone epigraph found at Koṭeśvara in the Kundāpūru tāluka records a similar gift of gold. Here the Three Hundred of Kuḍikūṛa are said to have assembled at Bārahakanyāpura and the king's brother-in-law Oḍḍamadeva and Narasinga

*1. 185 of 1928-9 ; Ep. Rept.for 1927-8,* **p. 57.**

**2.** *490 of 1928-9; Ep. Rept. for 1928-9,* **p. 58. This record enables us to assert that Niruvāra was the earlier name of T'ffiīavara,**

Heggaḍe are again mentioned. The inscription is dated Saka 1183, Durmati, Mārgaśīrṣa, Su. 6, Tuesday Dhanus, 3, which corresponds to Tuesday the 29th November A.D. 1261. The ruler is given the *birudas Pāṇḍya Cakravarti Arirāyu Gajakesari,* and is again said to be ruling from his *sthira siṁhāsana* (firm throne) at Bārahakanyāpura.[1]

The Kundeśvara temple inscription styles the king *Pāṇḍya devarasa ĀḷuPendrarasa,* and describes him as ruling from the same capital with his crowned queen *(paṭṭada mahiṣi),* his *maiouna* Oḍḍamadeva, Narasinga Heggaḍe, the *senabova,* the *adhikari,* the *purohita,* and others ; and to have fixed 140 and 180 *samudaya gadyaṇas* as the annual imposts leviable from the villages of Kundāpūru and Kuḍikūṛa respectively. The date of this inscription is Saka 1184, Dundhubi, Sravaṇa, Bahuḷa 13, Sunday Simha 16. It agrees -with Sunday the 13th August A.D. 1262.[2] The name of the crowned queen, as ascertained from another record to be mentioned later on, was Balla Mahādevī.

In the Viṣṇumūrti temple at Puttige in the Uḍipi tāluka is a damaged stone inscription also of the same ruler. It is dated only in the cyclic year Prabhava, Siṁha, but is assignable to Saka 1190 (July-August A.D. 1267). The epigraph records a royal order made in the presence of the *pradhānas* (ministers) and other officers,

1. *370 of 1927 ; Ep. Rrp.for 1926-7,* pp. 62, 108-9.
2. *364 of 1927 ; Ep. Rep. for 1926-7,* pp. 62, 108 9.

and issued from Bara(ha)kanyapura. The *biruda* of *Vīra* is given to the king in this inscription.[1]

It cannot be determined whether Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Gajakesari Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Alupendradeva ruled only from A.D. 1254 till A.D. 1267. From the above record it is clear that the king's firm throne *(sthira simhāsana)* was always at Bārakūru which, it must he noted, is consistently styled Bārahakanyāpura. His last date cannot be determined but it is not improbable that he ruled till A.D. 1277-8 or thereabouts.

Two stone inscriptions of the same ruler have been found in the Mahālingeśvara temple at Padūru in the Uḍipi tāluka. Unfortunately both are damaged but both clearly give the name of the king as Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Alupendradeva. One of these is undated, and in the other, which seems to record a gift of land, the date is lost.[2] The main reason wiiy these two records are assigned to the reign of this ruler is that they were found in one of the Saivite centres of the Uḍipi taluka. It is true that one of the inscriptions of Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Alupendradeva II was also found in the Uḍipi taluka. But, on the whole, the inscriptions of Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Alupendradeva II and of Vira Pāṇḍyadeva Alupendradeva III were found in the Mangalore and Karkaḷa talukas

1. *500 of 1928-9* ; Swamikannu, *Ind. Eyhem.*, IV, p. 137
2. *367* and *368 of 1930-1031'*.

The year A.D. 1277 witnessed the regime of his crowned queen Balla Mahādevl. A stone inscription found in the Mahisāsuramardhini temple at Nilāvara in the Uḍipi ṭaluka, styles her as the *paṭṭada piriyarasi* (the senior crowded queen). It describes her as ruling the country *('srimatu pattada piriyarasi Balla-mahadeviyara vijaya-rajyam-uttara-uttara-abhivṛddhi pravardhamana acandrarkka tarambaram-saluttam-irdda).* The epigraph states that a specified endowment in money (100 *honnu)* was made to the goddess Bhagavati of the temple ot Niruvāra in the presence of all the *pradhamas, desa-purusas, odeyas, adhikaris,* and the important representatives of the village of Niruvara *(Niruvarada gramadavaru).* The inscription is dated Saka 120 (1), Isvara, Kanya 15, Sunday. The cyclic year Iśvara corresponds, however, to Saka 1199 (expired), and the other details evidently stand for A.D. 1277, September the 12th Sunday.[1]

The succession devolved on her son Nāgadevarasa. Two damaged inscriptions of this ruler have been found in the Mahālirigeśvara temple at Basarūru in the Kundāpūru ṭaluka. The earlier of the two is a damaged record dated Saka 1213 Khara, Māgha Bahuḷa 10, Thursday, Kumbha 20 which agrees but for the last detail which ought to be Kumbha 21, with A.D. 1292 February the 14th Thursday. Nāgadevarasa is called in this record the son of Balla Mahādevl, and is said to be ruling from the capital Bārahakanyāpura. It

1. *491 of 1928-9 Ep. Rept. for 1928-29,* pp. 58, 80.

registers a gift of a flower garden to the god Nakhareśvara of Basarūru.[1]

The other damaged inscription, also found in the same temple, is dated Saka 1220 Kumbha 20 which corresponds to (Saka 1220, the cyclic year being Viḷamba) A.D. 1299, February the 13th Friday. It commemorates a gift also to the same god in the same temple.[2]

Of the next ruler Bankideva Alupendradeva II, four stone epigraphs have been found. The first of these was discovered in the Gollara Gaṇapati temple at Mangalore ; the second at Kariyaṅgaḷa near Poḷali Ammuṇije in the same tāluka; the third in the Mañjunātha temple at Kadri near Mangalore ; and the fourth in a field in the village of Sujeru, Mangalore tāluka. The Gollara Gaṇapati stone inscription gives him the following *birudas* :—*Pāṇḍya Cakravartin, Rāya-Gajāṅku'sa,* and calls him Bankideva Alupendradeva. His independent status is proved by the following phrases used in the same inscription :—*vijaya-rājyam-uttara-uttara'abhivṛddhi-pravarddhamāna-ācandrārkka-tāraṃbaram (saluttam-ire) du's-tha-nigraha-'sistha-pratipalanar-agi sukha sankatha-vinodadiṃ rājyam geyyuttam irdda.*

The date given in the above inscription is the following:—*S'aka-abda 1225 neyaS'ubha kṛta saṁvatsarada Mesa masa 7 neya A (di)* which corresponds to Sunday

1. *415 of 1927-8 , Ep. Rept.for 1927-8,* **p. 49.**
2. *420 of 1927-8;* **Swamikannu,** *Ind. Ephem.* **IV p. 198.**

April the 1st A.D. 1302.[1] The inscription then continues to narrate that in that part of the palace of the capital Mangaḷāpura called Mogasāle, where the king was holding the durbar on the occasion of the anniversary of the death of the great queen Mocala Mahādevi *(irimatu rajadhāni Mangaḷapurada aramaneya Mo&asaleyaḷolagaṃ-kotṭ iralu munna tammaḍiyakke Mocala mafia deri yar a svargastar-ada avara piṇḍa-pradanadalu),* certain grants of land (specified) were made to Kādu Vāmana for the gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara. This epigraph, we may incidentally observe, is called a *'sita-sanketamam,* evidently because it was an agreement arrived at by the people and the king. In fact, the last sentence invokes a blessing on the ruler who was present on the occasion :—*ehdu barada sila-sanketamam kelda srimat Ar (a) sarge mangaḷa-mahasri.*'

The identity of the great queen Mocala Mahādevi is uncertain. But the use of the epithet *Mahadevi* and the absence of the term *paṭṭada piriyarasi* or *paṭṭada mahiṣl* suggest that she may have been the mother of Bankideva Alupendra. If we take the death anniversary of the queen mentioned in the record to be the first of its kind, she may have died in A.D. 1301.

**1. and (2) *17 of 1901 ; S. I. I.* V I I , No. 1/7, p. 75. On the same page of *S. I. I.*, *a* is interpreted as Aśāḍha, and 8 is substituted for 7. Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.*, I V. p. 206. Kittel refers to a stone inscription dated Śālivāhana Śaka 1225 found in front of a temple that was then called Niradevālaya and at present dedicated to Hanumanta in which the name Mangaḷapura is mentioned. *Kannaḍa-Eng. Dicty.* p. 1180. Evidently the inscription referred to is the one under discussion. B. A. S.**

The second stone inscription belonging to this ruler was found at Kariyaṅgaḷa, near Poḷali Ammuṇije in the same tāluka. It is dated only in the cyclic year Krodhana (Krodhin), Siṁha 15 which corresponds to Saka 1226 (A.D. 1304 August, Wednesday the 12th). The inscription records a gift of land to the temple of Hoḷa-ladevā (? devī) by a Brahman in the reign of Bankideva-rasa.[1]

A third inscription of the same king is the defaced stone record found in the Mañjunātha temple at Kadri near Mangalore. This undated epigraph gives the *birudas Pāṇḍya Cakravartin (Rā) ya-Gajaṅku'sa* to the king Bankideva Alupendra, and informs us that in the course of his increasing and victorious reign, while he was protecting the virtuous and punishing the wicked *(vijaya rājyam uttara-uttara abhivṛddhi pravarddhamāna [mā candrākka tā] rāmbaraṃ [saluttam-ire] duṣṭha-nigraha-'siṣṭha pratipālana),* and then breaks off.[2] The similarity of the *birudas* and the phrases describing his independent rule mentioned in the above inscription with those given in the Gollara Gaṇapati temple inscription, suggests beyond any doubt that both the records are to be referred to the same ruler.

The Sujeru stone inscription is dated Saka 1228, Visvavasu, Simha 18, Sunday which corresponds correctly to A.D. 1305, August, Sunday the 15th. This is a unique record which shows how carefully the Alupa

1. *377 of 1927-8 ;* **Swamikannu,** *Ind. Epem.,* **IV, p. 211.**
2. *26 of 1901,; S. I, I.* **V I I, No. 188, p. 84.**

kings looked after the material welfare of their subjects. Its importance will be discussed in a subsequent section on the features of Alupa administration.[1]

## 7. LATER ALUPAS AND THE BEGINNING OF THE DECLINE

Soyideva Alupendradeva succeeded Bankideva Alupendradeva. It cannot be determined how long the latter's rule lasted. But from the fact that the earliest inscription of Soyideva Alupendradeva is dated A.D. 1315, it is permissible to surmise that Bankideva Alupendradeva*s reign lasted till A.D. 1314-5. Five stone epigraphs of the reign of Soyideva Alupendradeva have been found, while a sixth record, mentioning one who was obviously a member of the royal family, tails within his reign. The five stone records are the following :—a stone inscription found in the Somanāthesvara temple at Maṇigārakeṛi in Bārakūru ; a stone epigraph discovered in a place called Dammaragudde in Paḍebettu, Uḍipi tāluka; a stone record found under a peepul tree in Kāpu also in the Uḍipi tāluka ; another one found in the Mahālingesvara temple at Uḍipi; and a damaged one discovered in the Anantapadmanābhasvāmi temple at Kuḍupu in the Mangalore tāluka. The sixth stone inscription falling within the reign of Soyideva Alupendradeva is also much damaged. It was discovered in the NemlsVara *basti* at Varanga in the Kārkaja tāluka.

1. *338 of 1930-1931 :* **Swamikannu,** ***Ind. Eph.*** **IV p. 213.**

The Somanātheśvara temple stone inscription found in the Maṇigārakēṛi begins in the usual Alupa manner with *svasti 'srīmat,* and gives the following *birudas* to Soyideva Alupendradeva:—*Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Arirāya Basaoa S'ankara Deva.* Of these the second is a new *biruda* altogether. The phrase *vije(ja)yarājyaudayam-uttara~ abhivṛddhimanam-acandrarkka-tarambaraṃ saluttam irdda* suggests that he was enjoying an independent kingdom. But, as we shall point out in a later connection, the Alupa power was now beginning gradually to decline. The date of the above record, however, is given as *S'aka-varuṣa 1238 Rakṣasa sarhvatsarada Margas (b) ira Su* (S'u) *dd(h) a 13 (Vr) ṣclka-masa 13 Somavara,* The cyclic year for Saka 1238 was Anala ; and Vṛṣcika 13 Monday would mean A.D. 1316 November the 9th Tuesday. We have, therefore, to assume that the date intended was probably Saka 1237 *expired* in which case it works out correctly to A.D. 1315 November, Monday the 10th. The ruler is represented as being in the palace in Bārahakanyāpura, and not Bārakāntupura, as has been wrongly read by the Madras Government Epigraphist. The king is described to be seated on the golden throne *(suoarṇa-simhasana-arndhar-agi,* and not *unnata-simhasana-aruḍharagi,* as has been supposed by the same writer), and holding his durbar *(oddolagam Rott-irda-prastava-dola).* The inscription which is unfortunately effaced in many places, records a grant for the offerings of the god Somanatha of Maṇigārakeṛi. It was made by Bankidevarasa, the nephew of the ruler *(...valvara*

*baliya [aliya] Bahkidevarasam)* to Banki Senabova's (man ?) Annadāta Heggaḍe. The importance of this epigraph will be made clear while describing the administration under the Ālupas.[1]

The second is a damaged stone inscription found in a place called Dammaraguḍḍe, about a mile to the north of the Subrahmaṇya temple in the Paḍebeṭṭu village, Uḍipi ṭaluka. It is dated Saka 12 (46 Raktākṣi) which corresponds to A. D. 1324-5. The ruler is called Vīra (So)yideva Ālupendradeva. This record seems to register a gift of money-income to the temple of Kōṭiśvara by the king. It mentions the *Mahāpradhāna* So(va)ṇṇa Śenabova and Sifigaṇa Śahaṛa.'

The Kāpu stone inscription of the same ruler gives him the same *birud'as* and the same phrase regarding his independent rule. It is dated *S'ri S'aka»varuṣa 1247 (neya) Rakatākṣi ( saṁVatsarada ) Kanyā* ... The cyclic year Raktākṣi corresponds to Saka 1246 and not to Saka 1247 the cyclic year of which was Krodhana. The date intended is probably Saka 1246 ( A.D. 1324, September). This is another defaced inscription which clearly describes the king as seated on the golden throne *(s[u] varṇa*

1. *151 of 1901 ; S. I.* I. VII. No. 354, p. 212 ; Swamikannu, *Ind Bpheth.* IV. pp. 232-235. The cyclic year for Saka 1237 was Rāksasa. But instead of Mrgasirsa, there ib Nija and Vrscika 13 corresponds correctly to November the 10th Monday, swamikannu, *ibid* p. 233. B.A. ,S.

2. *374 of 7930-1,* The latter part of the date is by no means certain. On the back of this slab is a much mutilated Ḳannaḍa inscription of the Vijayanagara times, mentioning an Oḍeya and some Uudalis. *Ibid.*

*(simhāsa) na ārūḍhar-āgi)* at Bārahakanyāpura, and holding the durbar *(oḍḍolagam-koṭṭ-iralu).* It records a grant of land (details effaced) made at the request of Srimān *Mahāpradhāna* Singaṇa Sāhaṇi and the officials called *erafa-kdla bali niyogis.*[1]

The Mahālingēśvara temple inscription of Uḍip begins directly with the date which is given thus:- *PrabhaVa samvacch ( ts ) arada Aśaḍha Ba(huḷa) 3 Ma. Karkkaṭaka māsa 9 Maṅgaḷavāra ḍi.* The cyclic year Prabhava corresponds to Saka 1249 but the week day however does not correspond. The date is perhaps meant for Saka 1249 ( A.D. 1327) July, Wednesday the 8th and not Tuesday. The king is given the same *birndas* as in the above Kāpu inscription. The *Mahapradhāna* Singaṇa Sāhaṇi (but called in this record Sahaṇi ), along with Bhōṣaṇa ( Bhuṣaṇa ? ) Adhikāri, Koḍakala Nāyaka of Naḍapu and others, gave certain specified forest land for the ( services of the ) god of Tāṟe-guḍḍe. The epigraph concludes with an imprecation that he who violates the grant would suffer the sins of killing cows in Vāraṇāsi, The engraver's name is given in Devanagari characters as Srādharanathā which is evidently an error for Srldharanātha.[2]

The fifth inscription of the same ruler was discovered in the Anantapadmanābhasvāmi temple

1. *92 of 1901; S. I. /.* **VII. No. 274, p. 141 ; Swamikannu,** *Ind. Ephem.* **- p. 250.**

2. *118 A.of 190h; S.I.I.* **VII. No. 308, p. 159, Swamikannu** *ibid,* **IV, p. 257.**

at Kuḍupu. This damaged epigraph calls the king Vīra Soyirāya and adds a third *biruda* to the two alrady mentioned above-that of *Raya-Gajaṅku'sa* which, as we have already seen, was assumed by Soyideva Alupendradeva's ( father and ) predecessor Bankideva Ālupendradeva. The inscription under review is dated only in the cyclic year Bhava Kuṁbha 22 (Wednesday) which corresponds to Saka 1257 (A. D. 1335 February Wednesday the 15th ). An official named Mainda Heggaḍe is mentioned in the record.[1]

The sixth stone inscription which fails within the reign of Soyideva Alupendradeva but which was not evidently issued by him is a damaged record found in the Nemlśvara *basti* at Varaṅga in the Kārkaja tāluka. It mentions a chief named Gopl^vararāya, who is given the *birudas* of *Paṇḍita Paṇḍya, Paṇḍya Dhanaṁjaya>* and *Arirāya Basava S'ankara.* The name of the *sarvādhikāri* Narasinga also occurs in the inscription. It is dated Saka 1 ( 25 ) 4 Aṅglrasa ( Mithuna ), Su. 10, Thursday which works out to A.D. 1332 June the 4th Thursday.[1]

We have seen that in the undated stone slab set up in the verandah of the same *basti* at Varaṅga, belonging to the reign of Pandya Cakravartin Kulasekharadeva Alupendradeva, already cited above, the name Pāṇḍya Dhanañjaya appeared as a *biruda* of Paṭṭoḍeya, while a prince named Pi(a)ṇḍita Pāṇḍya was also mentioned.[3]

1. ***461 of 1928-9 ; Ep. Rept.for*** *1928-9,* **p. 58.**
2. *527* ***of*** *1928-9* ; ***Ep. Rept. for 1928-9,*** **p. 59.**
3. *526* ***of*** *1928-9,* **op. cit.**

Gopiśvararāya has the same *biruda* like the one assumed by Paṭṭoḍeya, and in addition that of *ArirSya Basava S'ankara,* which we may note was used by the Alupa ruler himself. These considerations make it certain that Gopiśvararāya belonged to the royal family in the indirect line, and that he was not an independent ruler.

The *birudas Basava Śankara* together with *S'rimat Pāṇḍya Cahravartin* and *Raya Gajaṅka'sa* which were borne by the Alupa rulers were, we may incidentally observe, also used by one of the most prominent of the later Hoysala rulers-Vlra Ballāḷa I I I .

Soyideva Alupendradeva was succeeded by Vīra Kulaśekharadeva. Two stone inscriptions of this ruler have been discovered. The first is a damaged record found at Niruvāra in the Uḍipi tāluka. It is dated Saka 1(26)7 Tāraṇa (Vṛścika), 27, Thursday which corresponds to A.D. 1345, November the 24th Thursday. The inscription mentions a gift to the temple of Durgā Bhagavatī of the same locality.[1]

The other inscriptïon is written in the Grantha script. It was found in the MahālingeSvara temple at Kōṭa in the Uḍipi tāluka, and it contains the incomplete detail that Jupiter was in Kumbha. The date evidently stands for A.D.' 1345. The inscription records an endowment to the same temple of Mahālingeśvara at

1. *496 of 1928-9 ; Ep. Rept.for 1928-9,* p. 53. The cyclic year Tāraṇa is probably here meant for Śaka 1266 *expired* with which it agrees. For the cyclic year for Saka 1267 was Pārthiva. Swamikaniiu, *Ind. Ephem.,* IV., pp. 290-293. B- A. S.

Kō$a in the Uḍipi tāluka.' If we assume that Soyideva Alupendradeva's last year was A.D. 1335, then, it may be taken that Vīra Kulaśekharadeva's reign lasted from that date till A.D. 1345 6.

Vira Pandyadeva succeeded Vira Kulasekharadeva in A.D. 1346. Only two inscriptions directly bearing on the reign of this ruler have been found, while two others may be assigned to him on historical grounds. 'That Vira Pāṇḍyadeva's earliest year was A.D. 1346 seems certain both from the inscriptions found in the Mahālingeśvara temple at Brahmāvuru in the Uḍipi tāluka as well as from the supplementary grant recorded on a stone in the Sringeri *maṭha** The former is a damaged epigraph dated Saka 1 (26)9 Vyaya, Mārgaśīrśa, Su. 1 (1), Vaḍḍavāra which agrees with A.D. 1346 November the 25th Saturday. The inscription seems to record a gift of land.[3]

The Sringeri *maṭha* inscription is concerned mainly with the endowments made to it by the five famous brothers-Harihara, Bukka, Mārapa, Muddapa, and Kampaṇa, the founders of the Vijayanagara Empire, in the year A.D. 1346. A supplementary grant to the servants of Bharata Tirtha Sripada of that pontificate is also made in the same record and is dated in the same year. It is from this that we gather that the ruler who made the supplementary grant was no other than Vira Pāṇḍya Deva. For it' gives him the *biradas*

1. *506 of 1928-9.*
2. *484 of 1928-9 ; Ep. Rept.for 1928-9,* **p. 59,**

*Pāṇḍya Cakravartin, Arirāya Basava S'ankara, A Goad to the Elephants the hostile kings.* These *birtidas* were worn by the predecessors of Vira Pandyadeva, and were, therefore, naturally assumed by him. We assume that Vira Pāṇḍyadeva went to Sriṅgeri along with his queen whose name is given as Kikkāyitāyi which is evidently an error for Cikkāyitāyi, (i. e., Kṛṣṇāyitāyi), in the same inscription.[1]

Two other inscriptions that may be assigned to the same ruler are the completely .defaced stone inscription found at the entrance to the central shrine of the Pāṇḍyeśvara temple at Mangalore, and the illegible stone epigraph found at the entrance to the Cakrapāṇi temple at Attavara also in the same town. The former, however; contains the date one figure of which is damaged : Saka 128 (?), Mīna-māsa 14th A, The Government Epigraphist (Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar) has substituted 4 for the missing figure. But this (Saka 1284) does not work out correctly, since the cyclic year for Saka 1284 was Subhakrt. The date, then, according to the calculation of the Madras Government Epigraphist, would be A.D. 1362, March 9th Wednesday. The week day and the cyclic year, according to this calculation, do not agree. Hence we assume that the missing figure in the date of the record may

1. Mahāmahōpādhyaya R. Narasimhacharya was, however, unable to identify this ruler. The inscription in full is given in the famous Śringeri *matha* epigraph, Sg 1 of *E. C*, VI, ; *Mys. Arch-Rept. for 1916,* p. 57.

have been 2 in which case the date would be Saka 1282, Sārvari Mina-māsa 14th Ā (di). This agrees very well with A.D. 1360, March, Sunday the 8th.[1]

The Cakrapāṇi temple stone inscription is likewise illegible, and the date also contains one figure that is damaged. The Government Epigraphist reads Saka 128 (9) Parābhava, Meṣa-māsa, 10, Guru. But the cyclic year Parābhava corresponds to Saka 1288 and not to Saka 1289 the cyclic year of which was Plavaṅga. If we accept the date as Saka 128 (8), then, it may stand for A.D. 1366, April, Saturday the 4th. The week day however still does not correspond.[2]

The inscription records that for the offerings of the god Āñjaneya of the Cakrapāṇi temple, the following stone inscription was written *(bara [e] da śilā-śāsanada kramav-ent-endare)*—Whereas in former times Kulasekharadeva, *(munna ādi-kaladalu Kula'sekhara-de..)*, and then it breaks off. If we allot twenty years to Vira Pāṇḍyadeva, we reach A.D. 1366 which may have been the last year of that ruler. Kulaśekharadeva mentioned in this record was perhaps Kulaśekharadeva Alupendradeva I, the predecessor of Nūrmmaḍi Cakravartin. We infer this from the words *ādi Kulas'ekharadeva* in the record. This consideration and the fact that the record follows closely the Pandyesvara inscription, and

1. *20 of 1901, S. I. I.* **VII., No., 180, p. 77 ; Swamikannu,** *Ind. Ephem.* **IV, pp. 322, 326.**

2. **18** *of 1901 ; S. I. I.* **VII., No. 18, p. 75 ; Swamikannu,** *ibid* **pp. 334, 336.**

that it was also found in the same town of Mangalore, enable us to assign the Cakrapāṇi temple record to the reign of Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva.

If the above is accepted, then the earliest date tor Vira Pāṇḍyadeva's successor Kulaśekharadeva Ālupendradeva III may have been A.D. 1366. With this ruler a radical change seems to have come in the faith professed by the Alupas. The inscription in question was found in the Ammanavaru *basti* in Mūḍubidre. It opens in the usual Jaina manner, calls the Ālupa ruler a disciple of a well known Jaina priest, and describes him as making endownments to a Jaina *basti.* Unlike the Ālupa inscriptions hitherto examined, the Ammanavaru *basti* epigraph begins with the accredited Jaina invocation, thus:—*S'rimat-parama-gambhlra - svadvada - amogha lancchanam jiyat trailokya Nathasya sasanam Jina-sasanam* (Having the honourable supreme profound *syād-vāda* as a fruit-bearing token, may it prevail, the doctrine of the Lord of three worlds, the Jaina doctrine). Then it proceeds to give the following *birudas* to the ruler, whom it calls Pāṇḍya Cakravartin, thus: *svasti samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta Soma-kula-tilaka Pāṇḍya Mahārājfidhirāja Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Satya-ratnākara S'araṇāgata Vajrapanjara srlmat Carukirti-divya-Sri-pada-padma aradhaka parabala-sadhakarum appa 'srimat Pandya Cakravartin.*

Of these *birudas* seven had already been assumed by the Alupas: *Samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta, Rāja-parame-'svara, Paramabhattaraka, S'arandgata-vajrapanjaray Soma-kula-tilaka, Pāṇḍya-mahārajadhirāja,* and *Parame'svara.* Of

the others *'srimat-Carukirti divya-Sri-pada-padma~aradhaka,* and *para-baḷa-sādhakarum* are similar to those of the many *birudas* assumed by a Paṭṭi Pombuccha ruler of the Sāntara family, *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Lokanātharasa (A.D. 1334), whose position in Tuḷuva history during this period will be discussed in a later connection. The *birudas* of Lokanātharasa which are strikingly similar to those borne by Kulaśekharadeva Alupendradeva III, are the following: *Samasta-bhuvanā'sraya srimat-Cāruklrti-Pandiṭa-deVara dib(v)ya-sri-pada-padma aradhaka* and *para-bala-jagad-dala..*[1]

The statement that Pandya-Cakravartin *eka-(ccha-tradim)-rajyam geyyutta-irdd* followed immediately by *Rāja-gaja-balą* Kulaśekhara Alupendradeva suggests that it refers only to that Alupa ruler. This is further proved in a later passage which says that Kulaśekhara Alupendradeva, while seated on the jewelled throne in the *basti* of Bidire (i.e., Miiḍubidre) *(Kulaśekhara Ālup-endra-devaruBidireya(ba)sadilyalu-ratna-simhasana-arudha... ka-sthitar-agi),* made some specified although illegible endowments for the god Pārśvanātha of Bidire. The golden throne mentioned in the earlier records is now spoken of as a jewelled throne.

The record, inspite of its being defaced in many places, contains the following:—*hattu* 157394 *ne sandu dinam S'aka-varusa* 1306 *Kaliyuga* 4484 *sanda ... masa (Meca) mar ..., S* (S') *uddha Caturdasiya dina.* Kali 4484 corresponds to Saka 1305, while Kali 4485, to Saka 1306,

1. *Infra, Ch.* III, Sec. 8.

the cyclic year of which was Raktākṣa. The date intended was probably A.D. 1384 April Friday the 8th.[1]

Kulaśekharadeva Alupendradeva IlFs claims for independence as expressed in the *birudas samasta bhuvana-vikhyata, Pāṇḍya-mahārajādhirāja, Parameśvara* cannot be justtied in view of the activities not only of the Sāntaras, who had already gained ground within the limits of the Alupa kingdom, but also of those of another Karnāṭaka power which had successfully cast both over the Sāntaras as well as the Ālupas its sway since A.D. 1346. We refer here to the Vijayanagara rulers who had placed their viceroy over Bārakūru in Saka 1307 ( A . D . 1385-6.)'

There is one name among the Ālupa rulers which may be mentioned here. It is that of Alupa Kāmadevarasa about whom a much damaged and undated record was found in the Durgā Parameśvari temple at Iruvaila in the Kārkaḷa tāluka. This is the only inscription concerning him. It seems to register a gift of land.[1] Nothing more can be determined about this figure in Alupa history.

Kulaśekharadeva Alupendradeva I I I was succeeded by (his son and successor) Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva I I I. Only one inscription of this ruler has been discovered in the Gauri temple at Prāntya in Mūḍubidre. This record begins in the usual Alupa style with a *svasti,*

1. *53 A of 1901; S.I.I.* **V I I . No. 225, p. 113; Swamikannu** *Ind. Ephem.* **I V . pp. 368, 370.**

2. *Infra* **Chapter I I I .** 3. *477 of 1928-7929.*

and then proceeds to give most of the *biradas* assumed by Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ill's predecessor Kulaśekhara Alupendradeva III but not those referring to the Jaina teacher Cāruklrti Paṇḍita. On the other hand, it clearly points to the strong hold which the earlier Saivite religion still had on the Alupa royal house which was now gradually sinking into insignificance. The following *biradas* are given to Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva :—*Samasta bhuvana-vikhyāta, Soma-kula-tilaka, Pāṇḍya-mahārājādhirāja, Paramesvara, Paramabhattaraka,Satya-ratnakara, S'aranagata vajra-panjara, S'ri-Manjunatha-devara 'srt-pada-padmārādhakar-appa, Para-balạ-sādhakarum-appa, śr'imat Pāṇḍya Cakravarti Rā (ya-Gajāfikus'a) s'ri-Vīra Pāṇḍya-dēvaru.*

The substitution of the *biruda 'sri-Manjunatha-devara 'sripāda-padmā-aradhakar* (Worshipper at the lotus feet of god Mañjunātha ) for the *biruda´ srimat-Cārukirti-divya-śri-pāda-padma-ārādhakar* assumed by Kulaśekharadeva Alupendradeva III, is to be borne in mind in our estimate of the diffusion of different religious creeds in Tuḷuvanāḍu.

Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva III is said to be ruling the kingdom under the shadow of one umbrella ( *eka-cchatradim rājyam-ieyyuttam irdda )*. This, as we have already seen, was used to denote the independent status of Kulasekharadeva Alupendradeva III.

The similarity of all the *biradas* except those pertaining to the faith of the rulers, and the phrase used to express their political position, as given in the above records of Vira Pāṇḍyadeva III and Kulaśekhara-

deva III, clearly prove that they belonged to the same family. This is further corroborated by the distinctive Alupa *biruda Rāya-Gajāfikuśa* borne by Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva III. These considerations are enough to invalidate the statement made by the Government Epigraphist ( Mr. G. Venkoba Rao ) that Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva III was not an Alupa ruler.[1]

The record is dated 1577 ( *311 ) ànḍina..S'aka~varasam* 1318 *san (du) Va* ( r ) *ttamāna.. A'svara-saṁvtsarada . simha māsa Āditya-vāradahdu.* This corresponds to Saka 1319, the cyclic year of which was Isvara, in which case the date intended was perhaps A.D. 1397 August the 5th Sunday.'

The inscription records a grant to Durga Devi ( of the Gauri temple ) of Mūḍubidre.

The ruler who succeeded Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva III was Kulaśekhara Aiupendradeva IV. Only two epigraphs of this ruler have been found. One was discovered in the Gauri temple at Mūḍubidre. It begins in the old Alupa manner with *svasti sri,* and merely relates that when Pandya Cakravartin Kulasekhara Alupendradeva was ruling the kingdom under the shadow of his sole

**1. *Ep.Rept.for 1926,* pp. 108-9. Mr. Venkoba Rao seems to have confounded Vira Pāṇḍya of the Alupa family with a later Vira Pāṇḍya of the Bhairarasa family of Karkaja. B. A. S.**

**2. *50 of 1901;* S. I. /. VII. No. 221, p. Ill, Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.* IV. p. 397. August 5th is taken here on the assumption that it is the first Adivāra in Śrhha. But this is a mere supposition. B. A. S.**

**umbrella** ***(Pāṇḍya-cakravartin Kulase (s'e) kharālpendradevar eka-cchatra [dim] rajyam-geyyutt-ire.)***

The date which follows is wrongly given thus :— ***(S'aka-nrpa) kālātlta-s(am)vatsarada 1363 neya Raktākṣi-sam*** ...and then the effaced epigraph proceeds to record a grant of land for the *naivedya* of the goddess Durgadevi [of Mūḍubidre], The cyclic year Raktākṣi corresponds to Saka 1366 ( A . D . 1444-5) and not to Saka 1363, the cyclic year of which was Durmatl.[1]

Another inscription has to be referred to this ruler. It is a stone epigraph found in the grounds of the Kanara High School, Mangalore, and is dated only in **the cyclic year** ***Raktākṣi Meṣa-mtisa 12 neya Ādivaradandu.*** The inscription contains a great many details concerning temple management which will be discussed in connection with the features of administaation under the Alupas. Here we may note that it mentions an Alupa ruler in the following terms: *Mangaḷāpurada hiriya* ***aramaneya Bhuvana'srayada mogasaleyalu samasta-pradhanarum yeraḍu-kōlu-baḷiyam verasu(m)oḍḍolagam-koṭṭirdda-āprasta-vanadalu Aliya Vita Banki Devarasargge Muguru-nāḍina-rājyam biḍuvalli Māva Kula'sekhara-devarsarum Aliya Banki Devarasarum Bankesvara Devarige 'sila-'sasanam geydu koṭta kramavent-endade.*.** **In the older (or senior) palace at Mangalore** ***(Mangaḷapurada hiriya-aramaneya),*** **in** the front room of the public audience hall of which

1. *53 of 7907; S. I. I.* **V I I . No. 224, pp. 112-3, 511 ; Swamikannu,** *Ind. Ephem.* **V. pp. 84, 90.**
2. *23 B of 1901; S. I . I.* VII. **No. 185, pp. 81-2.**

by name the " Refuge of the World " ( *bhuvanāśrayada moga-sāleyalu),* with all the ministers and the *eraḍu-kōlu-bali* officials, on the occasion of the public audience, the kingdom of Mugurunāḍu was assigned to Aḷiya [nephew] Bankidevarasa by his uncle *[mava]* Kulasekhara devarasa. On this the king Kulasekhara together with Aḷiya Baṅkideva made an endowment to the god Bankesvara.

We have to find out the age of epigraph and the identity of the ruler Kulaśekara and of his nephew Baṅkideva. The cyclic year Raktākṣi agrees with any one of the following Saka years-1126, 1186,1246,1306, and 1366. The epigraph in question cannot be dated to Saka 1126 for the following reasons:-In Saka 1126 ( A.D. 1204-5 ) the king is given many titles among which, as we have seen already, *Paṇḍya-Cakravartin Rāya(ra) Bhujabala*[1] are important. His name is spelt Vira Kolaśekhara Aḷvendradeva. In none of the three inscriptions of this Alupa king are his relatives mentioned. These titles, the more corrupt form of the name, and the absence of the name of any of his relatives suggest that he could not have been the Kulaśekhara mentioned in the stone inscription found in Mangalore.

The inscription cannot be dated to Saka 1186. We know from the Alupa records that Vira Pāṇḍyadeva Alupendra I was ruling from A. D. 1254 till A. D. 1267.

1. *51 of 1901,* op. cit.

It cannot be that the Kulasekharadeva of the Mangalore inscription ruled at the same time.

The epigraph cannot be placed in Saka 1246 ( A.D. 1324) for the same reason. Soyideva Alupendradeva was ruling from A.D. 1315 till A.D. 1357. Moreover, it was only in the reign of bis predecessor Baṅkideva Alupendra II in A.D. 1302 that the palace at Maṅgajūru was called merely *Sriimatu rājadhāni Maṅgalāpurada( a ) ramaneya moga-sāle,*[1] and the palace itself was styled simply Bhuvanāśraya.[2] This proves that in the days of Baṅkideva Alupendradeva I I , and, we may presume, in those of his successor Soyideva as well, the palace at Mangalore was not called *hiriya aramane,* as it is styled in the Mangalore record. We have, therefore, to date the Kanara High School inscription to a later age in order to understand the term *hiriya aramane* applied to it.

Now, there remain two Saka years to which the Kanara High School inscription can be assigned:—Saka 1306 and Saka 1366. In A.D. 1384 Kulasekhara Alupendra deva I I I and in A.D. 1444 Kuḷasekhara Alupendradeva IV reigned. It is difficult to determine to which of these two names the Kulaśekhara of the Kanara High School inscription has to be referred. We may venture to suggest, however, the following:—That the record in question cannot be referred to the reign of Kulaśekharadeva I I I for the following reasons:- This ruler is given a string of *birudas* which are not found in the

1. *17 of 1901, op.cit.*
2 338 of 1930-31. See infra *The Capitals.*

Kanara High School inscription. He is represented as ruling from his jewelled throne at Mūḍubidre, and as a patron of jainism, who gave a grant to the god PārsVanātha of that city.[1] These considerations are inapplicable to the KulaSekhara of the Kanara High School inscription. For, as we shall explain while describing the features of administration under the Alupas, the Kulaśekharadeva of the Kanara High School record was a patron of Brahmanism, as the detailed regulations pertaining the temple of the god Bankeśvara entered in that inscription, and the fact that the grant was made by the king Kulasekharadeva himself together with his Aḷiya Baṅkideva clearly prove.

There remains Saka 1366 when there reigned Kulaśekharadeva Alupendradeva IV. One inscription of this ruler dated wrongly in Saka 1363 (i. e., 1366) but in the cyclic year Raktākṣi has already been noticed by us. This inscription registers a grant to the goddess Durgā. The ruler is styled Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Kulasekhara Alupendradeva.[2] We believe that the Kanara High School record dated only in the cyclic year Raktākṣi is to be assigned to Saka 1366, and that the Māva (uncle) Kulasekharadeva, the patron of Brahmans, of that record is to be identified with Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Kulaśekharadeva.

The date of this inscription *(S'aka 1366 Raktākṣi Mesa masa 12 neya Ādivara)* would, then, correspond to

1. *53 A 1901,* op. cit. 2. *53 of 1901,* op. cit.

A.D. 1444 April the 7th Tuesday, the week day not corresponding.[1]

## 8. SOME CHIEFTAINS

Kulaśekharadeva Alupendradeva IV was the last of the prominent Alupas, so far as the epigraphs concerning them are concerned. With him the flickering vestiges of Alupa power may be said to have vanished. The name Alupa was too great, however, to be entirely annihilated. And so we find it lingering on till the sixteenth century and after. Three names of chieftains exercising some sort of political authority are met with in inscriptions of the later ages. A stone inscription found in the Hacevettu village in the Karkala taluka, records a grant of land to the temple of Mahadeva at Ittala (Viṭṭhala ?) by Kantaṇa Mara Aḷuva *alias* Komṇa for offerings and perpetual lamps and lor feeding Brahmans. This was in the reign of the Vijayanagara king Virupakṣa Raya ( A.D. 1384-A.D. 1404). The inscription is dated only in the cyclic year Taraṇa, Makara 6, Thursday, when there was a solar eclipse. The cyclic year Tarraṇa agrees with Śaka 1326 and the date works out correctly to January 1st A.D. 1405, when there was a solar eclipse.[2]

We have seen above that Vira Pāṇḍyadeva III ruled from A.D. 1396 till A.D. 1436. It cannot be that Kantana Mara Aḷuvā *alias* Komṇa exercised any regal authority during these years. Hence it has to be supposed that

1. **Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.* V, p. 90.**
2. ***510 of 1028-9 ; Ep. Kept, for 1028-9,* p. 55.**

he was a member of the royal family entrusted with the charge of administering unspecified districts. Whatever that may be, the Komṇa branch has giver? two more chieftains to Tuluva.

One of them was Devaṇṇarasa *alias* Komṇa who is mentioned in two stone inscriptions. In the earlier of these records, it is related that his sister Sanakarā-devi made a gift of the produce of some of her lands to the (Anantanatha ?) b*asti* at Kiyaruvara for offerings and worship. The stone inscription which gives us these details was found in the Anantanātha *basti* at Nellikāru in the Kārkaja tāluka. It is dated Saka 1447 Tāraṇa, Dhanus 15, Sunday. This corresponds but for the week day which happens to be Tuesday the 13th and not Sunday, to A.D. 1524, December.[1] No overlord is mentioned in this record.

'The other record dealing with Dēvaṇṇarasa *alias* Komṇa was found iu Sirtāḍi in the Kārkaja tāḷuka. This inscription, however, mentions Cimṇarāja Oḍeyar, who was evidently the Vijayanagar viceroy. It records the construction of a new *basti* and an endowment of seventy-six *varāhas* by Dēvaṇṇnrasa *alias* Komṇa. With this amount some land was purchased at Arjjinā-pura and left in charge of Kōṭyaṇṇa Āḷva for the conduct ot worship. The epigraph is dated Saka 1453

1. *522 of 1928-9* ; Swamikannu, Ind Ephem. V. p. 251,253. The cyclic year Tarana agrees with Saka 1446, while Parthiva, with Saka 1447. In the latter instance, the date works out to December the 13th Wednesday A.D. 1525. Swamikannu, *ibid*, p. 253. B. A. S,

Vikṛti, Meṣa 15 Sunday which agrees with A.D. 1530 April the 10th Sunday which however was Meṣa 14.[1] The two records make it clear that Devaṇṇarasa *alias* Komṇa was entrusted with some governmental authority from A.D. 1524 till A.D. 1530.

The third name in the Komṇa branch is that furnished by the inscription written in Sanskrit and Kannaḍa found in the Anantnātha *basti* at Nellikāru in the same tāluka. This undated inscription mentions no king but merely records that the hall *(mandira)* of the *caitya* (i. e., the Jaina *basti* evidently) was caused to be built by the famous Mañjaṇa Komṇa Bhūpa.*

## 9. UNIDENTIFIED ALUPA KINGS

A tew names in the Alupa genealogy cannot be fixed with the meagre information that is before us. One of the earlier inscriptions is the defaced record discovered

1. *524 of 1928-9* ; *Ep. Rept. for 1928-9*, p. 60; It cannot be determined whether the name Cimṇarāja Oḍeyar mentioned in the above record was identical with Cimṇarāja Oḍeyar, who was the officer under ' Ain-ul-Mulk Gilani, and who punished the insubordinate *thdnadar* Dilāwar Khān, as mentioned in a record dated A.D. 1562. Saletore, *S. P. Life.*, I, pp. 382-383.

2. ,520 of 1928-9. The name Alupa still survives among the Buṇts, and in one or two families of Roman Catholics chiefly of Udayāvara and Uḍipi. In a later chapter we shall see how in one of the most famous Tuḷu *Pddḍaddnas*, called Koti and Cennaya, a Sāma Ajva will figure. In a stone inscription dated *Saka 1437 sand a aarttamdna*, Aluva Pandi Setti, Aluva Koti Setti, and Aluva Nara (ya) na Setti (42 of 1901 ; *S. I.* I. VII, No. 212, p. 109) are mentioned. The Government Epigraphist (Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar) correctly states that the cyclic year referred to is Dhatri (*i. e.*, A.D. 1516). Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.* V, p. 234.

in the Ananteśvara temple at Uḍipi. It is an undated record which opens with *tri svasti* unlike the majority of the Alupa inscriptions we have hitherto examined. It then proceeds to narrate the following :—*nareṇumm-appa porigam nātham Kavi (mu ? Vima ?) lāditya-ādahdu (huVi) tap (p) idakke ṣaṣṭi om (māna) heṛe pa ... nd-udāro* (m).[1] From this indistinct and incomplete inscription all that we can gather are the names Kavi Vimalāditya and (his shield-bearer ?) Narenu (Narayana ?). Since the genealogy from Maramma Alvarasa till Citravahana I I , as we have pointed out in the previous pages, is unbroken, Kavi Vimalāditya is to be placed either before Māramma Alvarasa or after Citravahana I I . If he were the predecessor of Māramma Alvarasa, we would have had some clue to this in the inscription of the latter. The absence of the slightest hint in regard to this suggests that Kavi Vimaladitya may have reigned in the troublesome times that followed the reign of Citravahana II.

An undated stone inscription found in Kariyaṅgaḷa near Poḷali Ammuṇije in the Mangalore tāluka, mentions Alupa Kumāra Pāṇḍya Jayasingarasa, and a gift made by him to the goddess Holaḷa Bhaṭṭārakī. On the following considerations this inscription may be placed at the end of the eighth century A.D. Firstly, the fact that the inscription calls the goddess Holaḷa Bhattaraki and not Durga Paramesvari, as the oeople

1. *118 of 1901; S.* I. I. V I I , No. 307, pp. 158-59.
2. *380 of 1927-8.*

now call her, proves that the inscription belongs to that early period when the people had retained the original Buddhist name of the goddess. This may have been in about the eighth century A.D. Secondly, the inscription was found in Kariyaṇgaḷa which has yielded two other epigraphs-that relating to Raṇasāgara whom we have placed in the first quarter of the eighth century A. D., and that concerning Baṁkideva Alupendradeva II dated A.D. 1304. The inscription under review could not have belonged to the latter Alupa ruler for two reasons : it mentions clearly the goddess Holaḷa Bhaṭṭāraki, while the later inscription of the times of Baṁkideva Alupendradeva II calls the same deity Holaḷadeva ! Such confusion could never have taken place in one and the same age. Moreover, if the record in question had belonged to the reign of Baṁkideva Alupendradev I I , it would have contained some reference to that ruler. The absence of any reference to that ruler suggests that the two records do not belong to the same reign. We may, therefore, place Alupa Kumāra Paṇḍya Jayasingarasa in the ninth or tenth century A.D., when the Alupas had dynastic connection with the Sāntaras from whom they borrowed the name Paṇḍya.

Since the epithet *Kumāra* appears in the inscription it may not be far wrong to assume that Kumāra Pāṇḍya Jayagiṁgarasa belonged to the Alupa family. This is confirmed by the first name Alupa which the prince bore as well as by the fact that he is said to have be-

longed to the Lunar race *(Soma-kula)* and "far famed in the World". It has been made clear that Pṛthvl-sagara, whom we have assigned to the middle of the eighth century A.D., was the earliest Alupa ruler to claim descent Irom the Lunar race. We have elsewhere shown that the Buddhist goddess Tārā known popularly by her Hinduized appellation of Durgā, was most popular in the eighth century A.D.[1] This explains why the goddess in the inscription is called Hoḷala Bhaṭṭāraki and not Durgā Parameśvarī, as we have it in the later records of the same place.

Under these circumstances the assertions of the Madras Government Epigraphist ( Mr. G. V. Srinivasa Rao) that Alupa Kumāra Pāṇḍya Jayasirigarasa was a Cālukya feudatory, and that he belonged to the UcchangijPāṇḍya line,[9] are to be rejected. The fact that in the Western Cālukya genealogy the name Jayasihga appears, and that the name Pāṇḍya was Common to the Alupas and to the Ucchaṅgi rulers, are no arguments to institute a relationship between the Alupa rulers, who were oi the *Soma-kula* and the Noḷarhbavāḍi Ucchangi Pāṇḍyas, who claimed decent from the Pallavas.[3]

1. **Saletore,** ***Wild Tribes,*** **pp. 25-28.**
2. ***Ep. Rept. for 1921-8,*** **pp. 59-60,**
3. **See Rice,** ***Mys.,& Coorg.*** **pp. 55, 59, 61, 63.**

## 10. FEATURES OF ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE ALUPAS

The epigraphs which we have examined not only give us a genealogical account of the Alupa rulers but also some interesting details concerning the manner in which they conducted their administration. These records deserve an independent study, since it is only with their aid that we shall be able to judge the veracity of purely traditional narratives relating to other phases of the life of the people not revealed in the stone epigraphs. The partial picture which is thus got from the stone inscriptions will have to be read in conjunction with the more elaborate narratives which we have gathered exclusively from folklore and which we have deferred for a later treatment in this treatise. Turning to the stone records we find that they contain statements which may be grouped under the following heads :—the king and his officials, capitals, municipal corporations, rural administration, army, taxation, and social solidarity.

### (A) THE KING AND HIS OFFICIALS

What precisely was the conception of royalty in the minds of the people in the early days of Alupa history cannot be made out from the epigraphical records. The earliest Alupa rulers have, as we have seen, merely *'srimat* prefixed to their names, thus denoting that they were of indigenous, though not necessarily of Tujuva, extraction; and that they did not attempt to give a

classical colouring to their descent. This *biruda* of *srimat* is coupled with others,...*(d)aṇḍa-vibhūta-vistlrṇa pitāmaha-avalokana, samvarḍdhita-kula-abhimanā* (one who had spread his fame by the might of his arms, one who was looked upon with affection by his grand-father, and one who had increased the fame of his family), in the case of Srlmat Aḷvarsar, who has been provisionally assigned to the beginning of the seventh century A. D. The next step in the examination of the *birudas* is reached when we come to reign of Chitravāhana I. It is interesting to observe that in the two records of his overlord the Western Cālukya monarch Yinayāditya Satyāśraya, Citravahana is called *srimat maharaja.*

Not till we come to the times of Svetavāhana, whom we have ventured to place in the first half of the ninth century A. D., do we get a hint as regards the popular conception of government. Pāṇḍyavillarasa's son Dēvu, who fought on behalf of Svetavāhana, is described to have been " beloved by the good and shunned by the wicked'' *(sādhu priyan aśadu-varjitan).*[1] This expression is strikingly similar to the one which denoted a special function of sovereignty in the later ages. A ruler was expected to govern the country (like a father) putting down the wicked and upholding the good *(dusta nighraha śiṣta prati-pālanadim).* It is this idea which is evidently included in one of the *birudas* of Svetavahana's successor Prthvlsagara, whom we have assigned to the middle of the eighth century A.D.

1. *105 of 1901, op.cit.*

He is called the *Terror of the Wicked [duṣta-bhayaṅkarargge ista-bhrtyan-appa).*[1]

Pṛthvīsāgara was indeed an ambitious ruler. The simple *birudas* of the earlier kings were exchanged by him for the more elaborate ones including that given above. They were the following :—*The illustrious Ālupendra (S'rlmat Ālupendra) who had sprung from the Moon (Soma~vaṁsa*udbhava), the Ornament of his family* ( *kula-tilaham* ), *Udayaditya, Uttama Pandya,* and *the illustrious Ālµvarasa.*[2]

With the inclusion of the *birudas Parameśvara* and *Adhirājaraja* by his successor Vijayāditya Māramma in the last quarter of the eighth century A. D., the Ālupa rulers may be said to have given the fullest expression to their ambitious designs.

That the earlier conception of sovereignty still continued in the popular mind in the middle of the tenth century A.D., is proved by two of the many *birudas* given to Kundavarmarasa 11 :—*uddāma bāhu-vīryeṇa rakṣitāḥ-kṣitimaṇḍalaḥ.* (One who, endowed with great physical strength, protected the corners ot the world shining in the moonlight of pure fame ) and *dattam bhuvam nirākṛtya balāt-vi'svāsa ghātinam* (One who by his valour recovered his kingdom after defeating traitorous wicked enemy ( to whom he had given land [formerly]). A singular *biruda* of this ruler is that relating to the abandonment (or causing to abandon) the evil of drinking liquor - *sura-pana krito-de(do)soyena rajna-nira-*

1. 101 of *1901, op. cit.* 2. 702 of *1901, op. cit.*

*kṛtaḥ.* It must be confessed that information is not forthcoming to show to what extent the evil said to have been removed by the ruler was rampant in the Alupa kingdom. Nevertheless the significance of the *biruda* seems to be that the people gave to sovereignty an attribute in addition to the one mentioned above, *viz.*, that of associating royalty with a moral obligation which is not generally met with in the Karnāṭaka records[1].

From Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Kavi Alupendra (A.D. 1113-A.D. 1155) onwards the Ālupa rulers prefixed imperial titles to their names. The *birudas* of this prominent ruler were, as we have already noted, *samasta-bhuvana'sraya, sri-prthvivallabha, maharajadhiraja, parame'svara,* and *paramabhaṭṭdraka.* With him comes into prominence a phrase which had already received considerable significance in contemporary Karnāṭaka history, *viz.*, that which described monarchs as ruling in the enjoyment of peace and pleasant (or profitable) conversations *(sukha-saṅkathā-vinodadim ṟajyam-geyuttam-ire.),* especially, it would appear, stories relating to benefactions for charity or religious merit *(dharma)*[3].

1. Even Kauṭalya seems to promulgate that a king should prohibit drinking (and gambling) only in a military camp. *Arthásdstra,* Bk. X, 364, p. 421 (Sastry's ed. 1923).

2. The *birudas tamattm-bhuvana-vikhyata, Pandya-rdjddhirdja, Parames'vara, Paramabhattaṛaka,* etc., given to Udayāditya Pāṇḍiya Pattigadeva, the predecessor of Kavi Alupendra I, are met with only in the inscription of Kulasekhara Alupendradeva I in the thirteenth century A.D., and not in the reign of Partigadeva himself. B. A. S.

3. Cf. Rice, *My.* Sf *Coorg,* pp. 167-168.

Thus was added a third constituent to royal authority, *viz.*, that of conceiving a ruler as a protector of *dharma* by virtue of his having listened to the pleasant and peaceful stories of benefactions. One more example will suffice to show how this idea had come to stay in the mind of the people even in later ages. Bankideva Ālupendra II, as already seen, was ruling in A.D. 1302 a victorious and ever increasing kingdom thus :—*vijaya-rājyam-attara-uttara-abhivṛddhi pravṛdhamāna-ācandrārkka tārāmbaram (saluttam-ire) duṣṭa nighraha śiṣṭa pratipālanakaf-āgi sukha-sahkathā vinodadim rājyam geyyuttam-irdda.*[1]

In the matter of appending the *birudas* and the phrases relating to sovereignty, the Aḷupas only followed the Karnāṭaka usage which had from early times been in vogue. In one detail, however, the inscriptions hitherto discovered do not enlighten us, *viz.* the appointment of *yuva-rājas* or crown princes over different parts of the kingdom. Certain considerations suggest beyond doubt that, in spite of any explicit reference to a *yuva-raja* administering the country at the dictates of the king, in any of the epigraphs, the Aḷupa kings must nevertheless have entrusted the *yuva-rājas* with some duties pertaining to government. The name of Alupa Kumāra Jayasiṅgarasa, whose age we have discussed above, suggests that he may have been *yuva-rāja,* although, it must be admitted, there is no evidence to prove our assertion. The fact that in A.D. 1254 Vira Pāndya Alupendradeva I issued an order in

1. *17 of 1901,* op. cit.

the presence of his Aḷiya (nephew) Bankideva, as we have seen above, does not invalidate the assumption that the Ālupa rulers must have been aware of the many advantages accruing from appointing *yuva-rājas* to important offices in the state.

This supposition is strengthened by the fact that that ruler himself conducted important public affairs along with his crowned queen Balla Mahādevī. We have seen that in A.D. 1262 he fixed the annual imports of the two villages of Kundāpūru and Kūḍikūṇa in the presence of government officials. It is not surprising, therefore, that the queen, who in A.D. 1267 had participated in the conduct of public business, should have carried on the administration herself in A.D. 1277, obviously on the death of her husband Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva.[1]

This does not seem to be the only example of a crowned queen administering the country in Ālupa history. From the Pancalingesvara temple stone inscription found in Kōṭekēri near Barakūruof the king Bhujabala Kavi Alupendra, and dated A.D. 1155, it may reasonably be surmised that his queen Paṇḍya Mahādevī likewise took part in public affairs. For the inscription mentions that to the city corporation *(nagara samūha)* of the town Pannirpaḷḷi, which belonged to (or which was ruled over by) the Pāṇḍya Mahādevī (*ā ūran-āḷva Paṇḍya Mahādeviyara nagara samūhakke),* a specified gift of land was made.

1. *491 of 1928-9,* **op. cit.**

The above record is interesting from another point of view. The gift of land in question was made by dignitaries who hailed from Kāśmīra. They are thus described :—Born in the city of Pajjera which belonged to the locality (district ?) of Pravarapura near the secred waters of Kāśmīra *(sri-Kaṣmira-l'srt] jalada 'srl Pravarppurada adkiṣtanada[Pajjera]purada sthānadalu huttida),* devotees of S*arada-devi(Sri-Sa[S'a]radadeviya),* and children of Srīyūṭi Rāṇa and Dēgōna Rāṇi—the *'srl-sāvāsi* Maṇinoja Rāṇa's younger brother Sri Sāji Rāṇa. The gift was made up of land in which fourteen *muras* of rice could be sowed, situated in Pannirpaḷḷi (the meaning of *guḍigallu Nālguṇḍada* [the stone of the temple of Nālguṇḍa ?] being not clear).

In the same inscription the term *sāvāsi* occurs in the following context concerning the above gift of land:—*dhārā-pūrvvakavāgi eradu-kotṭa tappu bhūmiya nēgilan hūḍida savasigala gundikeya...tht* precise meaning of which is also not clear. To what the *tappu bhūmiya nēgilan hūḍida sāvāsigaḷa* (of the Sāvāsis who had ploughed the wrong field) refers, is not apparent from the epigraph.[1] For our purpose we may note that the term *sāvāsi* thus occurring twice in the above inscription is significant in the sense that it points out to an official in the palace who was invested with the affairs of the royal ladies, or perhaps to one who was a Master of the Robes. A Bauddha *sāvāsi,* we may be permitted to observe,

1. *171 of 1901,* **op. cit.**

is mentioned in A.D. 1098, and a superintendent of *savasis* in A.D. 1176.[1]

A few more details are available concerning some of the highest officials in the Alupa government. There is no evidence to prove that the Alupas had under them the high dignitary called the great Minister for Peace and War *(jnahā-sāndhi-vighrahika),* who is mentioned in contemporary Cālukya records. But all the same they were aware of such an high office, as is proved by the Sohrab plates dated A.D. 692, which we have already referred to in an earlier connection. The name of the official who wrote this inscription is given as the *Maha-sandhi-vighrahika* Rainapunya Vallabha. Since the gift recorded in this inscription was made at the application of the Mahārāja Citravāha I, and since it related to a village within his jurisdiction, it is evident that that high official was known to the Alupa ruler.[2]

Four kind of ministers are distinctly mentioned in the Alupa records. Of these three were probably concerned only with political duties, while the last one was to look after the religious affairs. The three ministers in charge of political affairs were the *makā-pradhāna* or the great minister, the *sāmanta-pradhāna*

1. Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.,* p. 203 ; *E.* C. V I I . Sb. 170, p. 24.

2. It may be remarked here that the evidence we have here cited proves that under the Western Cālukyas the office of a *mahd-sfinihi-vighrahika* existed in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D. The assertion of Rice *(Mys. & Coerg.,* p. 169) that that official is seen only in the eighth century A.D., is, therefore, to the rectified. B. Ai S.

or the minister over the feudatories, and the *pradhāna* or minister. In the undated Beḷuvāyi stone inscription of the reign of Bhujabala Kavi Alupendradeva I (A.D. 1113-A.D. 1155), *Mahāpradhāna* Arasa Heggaḍe is mentioned.[1] The Gauri temple stone inscription of Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva I dated A.D. 1205-6, contains only the designation *Srlmanu(S'flman) mahāpradhāna,* the name of the official being uufortunately effaced.[2] The *Mahāpradhāna* Sōvaṇṇa Senabova is mentioned in the Paḍebeṭṭu stone inscription of Soyideva Ālupendradeva, dated A.D. 1324-25, already cited above.[3] The suffix *senabova* attached to the name of the *mahāpradhāna* suggests that the post of a great minister was by no means confined to higher social orders, but that it was open also to the humbler sections of the people like the accountants *(senabovas)* and the like.[4]

The *sāmanta-pradhānas* are mentioned collectively *(sāmanta-pradhānaru)* in A. D. 1315 in the Somanāthesvara temple stone record of Soyideva Alupendradeva.[5] The *sāmanta-pradhānas* under the Alupas were in all likelihood entrusted with the same duties which the Karnāṭaka monarchs allotted to their *sāmantādhipatis, viz.,* duties concerning feudatories.[6] The *pradhānas* or ministers are often met with in the Alupa inscriptions.

1. *61 of 1901,* op. cit.
2. *52 of 1901,* op. cit.
3. *374 of 1930-31,* op. *cit.*
4. The *senabovas* were not always recruited from the Brahma na. B. A. S.
5. *157 of 1901,* op. cit.
6. On Samantadhipatis, read, Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.,* p. 170.

*P.radhnna* Ar (p) a Heggaḍe is mentioned in the record from the Paficalingesvara temple of the times of Bhujabala Kavi Alupendra dated A. D. 1155.[1] We have already seen that Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva I (A. D. 1254-A. D. 1267) made gifts ofi various occasions in the company of high state officials among whom were the *pradhānas* or ministers.

Two other offficers must also have been known to the Alupa rulers, although it cannot be asserted that they were included among the Alupa category. These were the *mahāmaṇḍalika* and the *mahāmaṇḍale'svara,* both of whom rose to great prominance in later Karnāṭaka history. Certain *maṇḍalika mahāmaṇḍalikas,* described to have been prominent persons in the army of Komara (Kumāra ?) (*Komara-daṇḍa mukhyarāgidda maṇḍalike-mahāmaṇḍalikar),* are also stated to have submitted to Bankideva Alupendra I, in the undated SomeSvara temple inscription found inMūḍukēṟi in Bārakūru.[2] In the reign of the same ruler we saw *Srlmān Mahāmanḍale'svara* Rāya Saītirattạ... in A.D. 1058, according to the unfinished epigraph found in Udayāvara.*

Religious affairs were under the minister called *dharma-karaṇika.* We gather this from the Kigga inscription of the Mahārāja Citravāhana I assigned to about A.D. 675 which, after laying a penalty on those

---

1. *171 of 1901,* op. cit.
2. *136 of 1901,* op . cit.
3. *95 of 1901,* op. cit.

who dared to enjoy the produce given as a gift to the Kilganesvara god, ends thus:— "Taking a clean place, Senavarasa and *Dharma-karaṇika* will divide and give the palace office share on a smooth plastered floor (or evenly plastered over)." The *Dēvēdittiyer* and the *Sāer*, whom we have already mentioned in the same connection above,[1] seem to have been entrusted with some unspecified work in connection with temple endowments under the *dharma-karaṇika*. From the record in question it is clear that the *dharma-karaṇika* shared with another dignitary the responsible work of checking the revenue produce which was given in kind. The above seems to have been a very early instance of a *dharma~karaṇika* having been coupled with other state officials. In the twelfth century and after the offices of *dharmādhyakṣas* and *rājyādhyakṣas*, especially in the Kaḷacuriya times, were given moral and political duties.[8]

The injunction in the above Kigga stone inscription assigned to about A.D. 675 that the paddy produce, cow's milk, bullock,... of the god Kilganesvara excepting the attendants of the gods, "no one is (permitted) to enjoy", and the fact of the existence of a *dharmakaranika* with the *dēvēditteyar* and the *sāer* under him, enable us to conclude that the Alupa rulers from the earliest times took particular care of the religious institutions in their kingdom. This tradition was hanMed down to later Alupa rulers who made, as we

1. *Supra* Section 3.
2. See Rice, *Mys. & Coorg*, p. 170.

have already seen, endowments to temples in the presence of great ministers and officials of the state, obviously with a view to ensure not only a proper conduct of the items mentioned in the grants, but also to indicate that the king had an abiding interest in the welfare of the religious institutions. We shall deal with this phase of the question presently.

That even in the fourteenth century the earlier tradition of the king co-operating with his officials and important citizens in such matters continued to be a feature of the Ālupa administration is proved by the Someśvara temple stone inscription dated A.D. 1315 of reign of Soyideva Alupendradeva I. This inscription relates that when the king was seated on his golden throne, his nephew (Aḷiya) Bankidevarasa along with the *sāmanta-pradhānas*, the *(deśa)-purusạs*, the high officials of the two divisions called *eraḍu-kōlu baḷis* and others *(eradu kolu baliyum bahattara niyogigalu muntagi)*, made a special grant to Banki Senabova's (man?) Annadāta Heggaḍe. The latter received specified gifts of land in Aidurū, obviously on behalf of the god Somanatha of Manigarakeri where stands the temple of the god. The inscription continues to narrate that the king gave ten *honnu* (gold) for the lights of the same god. Further it says the following:—a *balinge teremadila a(r)ppisuva appane-salva ar(a)sana mānis(s)yaru h(eṁ)gasa(ru) biṭṭu devasva(vā)gi ā S'omamāthdevara manis(s)yare nodi a dharmava naḍasuvaru.* For the prosperous continuance of the endowment made by the

king, therefore, while men and women, in compliance with the king's orders, were to give their contributions towards the royal property applicable to (meant for) the service of the god, only the officials of the temple of the god Somanātheśvara, however, were entitled to look after the *dharma* mentioned above. The noblemen of Aidūru seem to have agreed to this, for the next sentence runs thus:—*Aidūru mufitāgi oḷeyaru madida dharma.*[1]

In the list of Government officials mention may be made of the engraver of stone epigraphs. The inscription of Srlmat Aḷuvarsar assigned to about A.D. 600, affirms that Sn̄-Kāḷādityan *dharegoḷānmam,* (Lord of the world) wrote *(baredon)* the *sasana.*[2] One of the Sambhukallu records of Vijayāditya Māramma (A.D.750-A.D. 770) was written by Raṇadhīri *(Raṇadhsri-likhita).** The only exception to the general rule of engravers writing their name in Kannaḍa is that of Srīdharanāthā (Srīdharanātha?) in A.D. 1327[4] mentioned in an earlier context. The office of the engraver developed into a prominent institution under the Vijayanagara rulers.[5]

In another detail too the Alupas were influenced by the the practice prevalent in the Karnāṭaka. And this was in regard to the provision which was made to commemorate the services of those who had fallen in a

1. *157 of 1991.*
2. *96 of 1901* ; S. I. I, VII, No. 279, p. 143.
3. *98 of 1901; E.* I. *IX,* p. 22.
4. *118 A of 1901; S. /.* I. *VII,* No. 308, p. 159.
5. Saletore, *S. P. Life.,* I, pp. 273-282.

fight or in a battle. Sometimes merely inscribed stones were erected in memory of the fallen heroes. The earliest instances of such stones are found in the times of Raṇasāgara. For instance, on the death of Sūdraka Nāgamma, Raṇasāgara himself made a gift in appreciation of his valour.[1] On behalf of Nalimaṇi Nāga Dlkṣira Sāgara, who had fought on behalf of Raṇasāgara against Nāpaḍe, a memorial stone was erected by his younger brothers *(atana tammukal nirisida kallu).*[2]

Heroes who fell in a fight were praised in a simple but effective manner. Thus when Polokku Priyacelva, the beloved servant of Pṛthvlsāgara, died, while storming Udayāvara, he was merely described as one endowed with beauty and one who was shunned by the wicked people. He ascended to the world of gods after having struck down the foot-soldiers (of the enemy).[3] Another hero Paliparṛe, son of Nandavilmuḍi, is likewise sparingly described as one who struck down the enemies, and ascended to the abode of heaven.* Two similar memorial stones will be described in the next chapter on the foreign relations. One of them was called *kalnaṭṭu,* or *kalnāḍ,* evidently according to the usage prevalent in the Karnāṭaka.[5]

1. *379 of 1927-8, op. cit.*
2. *108 A of 1901,* **op. cit.**
3. *101 of* **7007, op. cit.**
4. *103 of 1901,* **op. cit.**
5. **Rice,** ***Mys. & Coorg.,*** **p. 171 ;** ***E.*** **C.** ***XII,*** **Mi. 91 of** ***circa*** **920 p.111.**

**(B) THE CAPITALS**

From the discussion of the epigraphs given above, it must have been apparent to the reader that the capital of the Alupas shifted from time to time. This particular part of the narrative deserves some elucidation, as it has an important bearing on the beginnings of a famous law said to have been promulgated by a legendary hero of Tuḷuva. On Ptolemy's evidence it was asserted that Udayavara was the capital of the Ālupas in the second century of the Christian era. The fact that civil strife was waged repeatedly round Udayāvara in the seventh and eighth centuries proves that that city continued to be the capital till the end of the eigth century A.D.

The name of the other capital of the Ālupas-Bārakūru-does not appear till the beginning of the ninth century A. D. When we first meet with it in the reign of Dattāḷpendra Srimāra in A.D. 959, it is called Bārahakanyāpura which was not the earlier and original name of the city. For in an earler inscription-an inscribed *viragal* found in the Durgā temple at Hosahoḷalu near Bārakūru—the name appears in its more archaic and trustworthy variant *Barakanur*. This *viragal*, for reasons to be discussed in the next chapter, may be assigned to the ninth century A.D.[1] We may observe here that in the inscription relating to Dattāḷpendra

1. *181 B of 1901;* **S. I. I, V I I., No. 388, p. 245. It cannot be t made out whether we have to ascribe the founding of the town to a man named Baraka : *Barckana-uru* (the town of Baraka). B. A. S.**

Srīmara, as will be pointed out while delineating the religious history of the times, the palace at Bārakūru is called *Barāhakanyapūrada piriya -a ramane*-the beloved palace of Bārahakanyāpura.[1] This shows that in the reign of Dattāḷpendra Srīmāra, it must have been considered as having been recently constructed in a manner to eclipse in beauty the other palace, obviously that at Udayāvara. It is only in A.D. 1258 that the palace is called *hiriya-aramane,*[2] thus qualifying its antiquity when compared with the palace at Mangaḷūru.

On the strength of the inscription in Grantha characters on the pedestal of the Lokeśvara image at Kadri, dated A.D. 967, it may be concluded that Kunda-varma, who had proceeded to the *vihāra* of Kadirikā to consecrate that image, may have done so from the "great city of Mangaḷāpura" which is not, however, mentioned in the Alupa records. We shall cite indirect epigraphical evidence which explains why Kunda-varmarasa chose Mangaḷāpura as his capital.[3]

On the other hand, the SomeSvara temple inscriptions of Bankideva Alupendradeva I seem to suggest

1. 724 *of 1901; S. /.* I. V I I , No. 314, p. 165. *Piriya* is here taken to be the *tadbhava* of *priya.* Only in this sense is it historically intelligible in the epigraph under review. In an earlier conteit we took *piriya* in the sense of *senior-patt ̣ada piriyorasi* (Cf. E.C. *IV.* Intr. p. 21)—essentially in the sense of *beloved* and *senior.* B. A. S.

2. *490 of 1928-9. Bar aha* is the Ardhamagadhi form of *dvadasa.* It is not improbable that Bārakanūr was called Bārahakanyāpura b the Jainas in the tenth century A. D. B. A. S.

3. *Infra,* Ch. I l l , Sections 6 and 7.

that the capital was still at Barahakanyāpura. Since, all the stone epigraphs relating to the reign of Bhujabala Kavi Alupendradeva have been found in the Uḍipi and Kundāpūru tālukas, and since none of them mentions Mangaḷāpura, it may be concluded that till the middle of the twelfth century A.D., the Alupas did not revert to Mangaḷāpura in the south. Our surmise is proved by the Pancalingesvara temple stone epigraph which describes that ruler as governing from his palace at Bārakanyāpura in A.D. 1155. It continued to be the capital till A.D. 1267. King Nāgadevarasa in A.D. 1292 also ruled from the same capital. Thus from the ninth century A.D. till the end of the thirteenth century A.D., Baranakanyāpura enjoyed the reputation of being the capital of the Alupas, excepting for a short space of a few years when political necessity compelled Kundavarmarasa to shift his capital to Mangaḷāpura.

But in A. D. 1302 under Bankideva Alupendradeva II, Mangaḷāpura is called *'srimatu rājadhānlm.*[1] In the Sujēru stone inscription dated A. D. 1305, the king is said to have been seated in his palace called Bhuvanāśraya at Mangaḷāpura. Of this ruler, we may note incidentally, we have a singular fact mentioned in this record. It relates that in order to alleviate the sufferings of the people caused by a drought, Bankideva Alupendradeva II prayed to the god Timiresvara for rain ; and when his prayer was granted, he made a

1. *17 of 1901*, op.cit.

gift of land to the temple (of the same god) as a token of his gratitude.[1]

The capital reverted to Bārahakanyāpura in A. D. 1315 under Soyideva Alupendradeva.[2] We lose sight of the capital till A. D. 1384 when Kulaśekharadeva Ālupendradeva III is spoken of as seated on the jewelled throne in Bidire (i. *e.*, Mudubidre).[3] But in the intervening period and even after Kulaśekharadeva Alupendradeva Ill's reign, Bārahakanyāpūra continued to be the capital of the Alupa kingdom, as is evident not only from the trend of events, some of which will be narrated in the next chapter, but also from the fact that most of the Vijayanagara viceroys ruled over the Tuḷurājya from Bārakūru, although some governed it from Mangaḷāpura as well. But this subject falls outside the purview of the present thesis.

**(C) MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS**

Of these capitals, Udayāvara, Bārakūru, Mangaḷāpura, and Mūḍubidre, we have a few interesting statements concerning the status of the first two. They were *nagaras* or cities. But between them and Udayāvara there was some difference in regard to corporate existence. One of the earliest Sambhukallu temple stone inscriptions styles Udayāvara ( which it

1. *338 of 1930-31,* op. cit.; *Ep. Rept.for 1930-1931,* p. 49. The temple of the interesting deity Timiresyara mentioned in this record cannot be located. Probably it was in the neighbourhood of, the modern the Kanara Hīgk School. But of this I am uncertain. B.A.S.
2. *157 of1901, op.* cit.
3. *53 A of 1901,* op. cit.

calls Odevura ) a *nagara,* but it couples all the citizens who made up the corporation and the temple priests along with it *(Odevura nakara sahtta...sakala 'sri-āljal Goravar)}* This presupposes that so early as the sixth century A.D., Udayāvara was already enjoying the advantages of municipal life.

That Udayāvara was indeed a *nagara* is further proved by one of the Sambhukallu temple stone inscriptions of the reign of Raṇasāgara Alupendra, which mentions the *Udiyapurada nagara-* the city of Udayāvara.[2] The constitution of this city is suggested in another record but of the times of Pṛthvīsāgara. Here it is stated that there was a *nāyaka* or headman over that city. Udayapura Nāyga's ( i.e., Nāyaka's) son Siṅgadatta, Kumāra Erega, Raṇavikramanātha, and Sandavarada's (son) Kaṇṇaci were the recipients of certain favours to be enumerated presently.[3]

The SomeSvara temple stone inscription of king Dattāḷpendra Srīmāra contains an interesting statement which clearly indicates the socio-political solidarity that lay behind the actions of the Tulu people, The grant recorded in that inscription was to be jointly protected by the king, the representatives of district and the municipal corporation-— *yi dharmmavannu ar(a)su naiu nakhara palisi-baharu.*[4]

1. *99 of 190h* **op. cit.**
2. *100 of 1901*; ***S. I. I***. VII., **No. 284, p. 144.**
3. *102 of 1901 ; E.I.* **IX, p. 21.**
4. *124 of 1901.* **Sec *infra* Ch. V.**

There were other *nagaras* in the Alupa kingdom. On the strength of the Greek-Kannaḍa Farce to be cited later on, another important city near Udayāvara was likewise under a *nāyaka.* This was Malapi (mod. Malpe). The Sambhukallu temple stone inscription of Māramma Aḷvarasar referred to above, also speaks of Koḷala (mod. Koḷalagiri) as a *nagara,* and relates that Karasi Nāyga (Nāyaka) was ruling over that city *(Koḷala nakarakke Karasi Naygan āid).*[1]

The citizens of a *nagara* were called in the earlier days merely *okkalu* and in the twelfth century A.D. they collectively formed the *nagara-samūha* or municipal corporation. There was a daily supervision of towns. Eighteen cities, including, of course, Udayāvara, were supervised daily *(padineṇṭu paṭṭanamumam nitta vyavast[h]e),* as is related in the Sambhukallu temple stone inscription of Raṇasāgara Alupendra. This duty was under the direct control of the king. We infer this from the statement in the same inscription to the following effect:— That this duty of supervision of the towns and of protecting the country belonged only to the ruler *(ī vyavasthe āge ūra rakṣippadu idāṇ Dēvarg allade pēr ārkkoU varoḷara...)**

The cities had representatives who generally acted as a channel of communication between the king and the *nagaras.* This is seen from the manner in which the rulers granted full or half of the tolls to them. In the

1. *99 of 1901 ; S. I. I., VII.* No. 288, p. 144, op. cit.
2. *100 of 1901; S. I.* I. *VII,* No. 284, p. 144.

earlier days the representatives were identical with the citizens or *okkalu.* But collectively (in an assembly) they were also known by other names- *sāsirvarum* or the Thousand, and sometimes *mun-nūrvar* or the Three Hundred. These terms denoted the composition of the assembly of the citizens. In one of the earliest stone records found in the Sambhukallu temple, which we have assigned to the seventh century A.D., we find that the capital Udayāvara had seventy *okkalu* : *Udilipurada [Udayapurada] nakarada erpatt* (o) *kkalu.* The word *sāsirvarum* or the Thousand occurring in the same inscription, is to be referred to the general assembly of Sivalḷi(S'ivali . . . *Aasirbbarum).*[1]

The king granted tolls to the representatives of the *nagaras.* In the last quarter of the eighth century A.D., Vijayāditya Māramma confirmed the tolls of the cities of Pombuccha and Udayāvara to Susenavadi's son Svarnagosasi, Muttavarasa's son Adiyapa Setti, Maṇḍuka's son Parasebya, and Senavadi's son Nāgakumāra.* From another record of the same ruler, we learn that the representatives were called *okkalu.* This stone inscription narrates that Muttavarasa's son Saruvigosasiga, Kadal Setti's son Madamma, Vyasetti's son Dharmmanayga, Manugasattava, Sarvvandu (i. e., Sarvabandhu) and Puleyarma obtained *(ī okkalu paḍeduvu)* the confirmation of the grant given above, to the cities of Udayapuja and Ponvulca ( i. e, Pombuccha ).'

1. *96 of 1901; S. /.* **I.** *VII,* **No. 279, p. 143, line 11.**
2, *98 of 1901 ; E.* **I.** *IX.* **pp. 23-4.**
3. *97 of 1901 ; E. /. IX.* **pp, 23-4.**

The *de'sadhi'svaras* ( "the Lords of the Country" ) mentioned in one of the undated inscriptions of Bankideva Alupendradeva I found in the Somesvara temple at Mūḍukēṟi in Bārakuru, were evidently entrusted with some unspecified duty by the kinn in the districts. The effaced lines in connection with them suggest some sort of governmental supervision of their work :—*samasta-desadhisvara(ra) negaleyum...ja prabhav amumam=ṇld-hsamvyavahāradol-suliṿand-vino..* -[1]

The term *sāsirvarum* or the Thousand occurs again in A.D. 1254 in the times of Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva. The famous town of Kōṭa had an assembly of a Thousand. It was in the presence of this assembly and of Aliya Bankideva and others, that the ruler Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva gave a grant of land.[1]

In another record of the same king dated A.D. 1258 we are informed that when the king was at Bārahakanyā-pura, at his feet *('srl-pāda-sannidhāna (dalu* ), a specified grant was made to the *mun-niiṟvaru* (the Three Hundred) of Niruvāra. Among those present were certain high officials we have seen above, all the ministers, and *purohits* or priests.[3]

---

1. *136 of 1901*; *S. L I. VII* **No. 327, p. 178.**
2. *509 of 1928-9,* **op. cit.**
3. *490 of 1928-9.* **The term *mahājana* used by the Madras Government Epigraphist in connection with the Three Hundred of Niruvara, is misleading. The *makājanas* were no doubt of the same status as the Three Hundred. But the absence of the term *mahaiana* suggests that in Tujuva the people attached a different meaning to the tarm *mun-niirvaru* and *sasirvaru.* These were *assemblies* of represents-**

Niruvāra continued to have a representative assembly in A.D. 1277. For in that year while the queen Balla Mahādevī was ruling, all the high and low officials of the government together with the representatives of Niruvāra, made a grant of a rice field to the goddess Bhagavatī of Niruvāra.[1]

Even under the Vijayanagara rulers, we may be permitted to say, Niruvāra continued to have a representative assembly. The village assembly, however, was known then by the name *jagatta-munnūru* (The Three Hundred of the World). We learn this from a stone' inscription found in the Mahisasuramardini temple at Nīlāvara in the Uḍipi tāluka. It relates that under the Vijayanagara monarch Deva Raya (II), Bācaṇa Oḍeya was placed as viceroy over Bārakuru-rajya, while Sadasivadeva Aigal served under the latter as the *adhikāri* of Niruvāra. Provision was made by the *Adhikari* Sadasivadeva Aigal and the *jagatta-munnuru* for daily offerings to the local deity. The inscription is dated Saka 1330 Sarvajit, Asviyuja, Ba. 1 Sunday. The cyclic year for Saka 1329 was Sarvajit,

---

tives, and not merely individuals such as the *mahajanas* essentially were. Here we may also note that the term *elpatt-okkalu* occurs in an inscription dated A. D. 1074. And Rice translates it as seventy *jamilies. E. C.* V I I. Sk. 295, p. 150. But we have already seen that *okkalu*, especially in Tujuva, meant citizens and not families. In later history *okkalu* meant tenants. This is still the meaning of the term in Tujuva. B. A. S.

1. *491 of 1928-9.* But in the Govt. Epigraphist's collection given as *1927-8.*

and the date works out to A. D. 1407 September the 18th Sunday.[1]

Other centres which had assemblies were Brahmāvūru, Kuḍikūṟa, Kundāpūru, Puttige, Mūḍubidre, and Kāḷāvara. In A.D. 1254 the assembly of Brahmāvūru in the Uḍipi ṭaluka was called merely the " Two Hundred'' *(Brahma-ūradali nūr-irva).*[2] A stone inscription found in the Kotesvara temple in the Kundapuru taluka, dated A.D. 1261, relates that the assembly of Kuḍikūṟa was called "the Three Hundred" of that place.[3] Since the annual imposts were fixed at 140 and 180 *samudāya gadyaṇa* for Kundāpūru and Kuḍikūṟa respectively in that year by Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva, in the presence of his relatives, priests, nobles and officials,[4] we have to assume that Kundāpūru also had an assembly similiar to the one at Kuḍikūṟa. We prove our assumption by a stone inscription of a later date found in the Kundeśvara temple at Kundāpūru. It records that Narasimha Oḍeya was governing the Bārakūrurājya under the orders of Hariappa Daṇṇāyaka. The name of the Vijayanagara monarch was Deva Rāya. Narsimha Oḍeya renewed in the presence of the god Kundeśvara of Kundāpūru, and with the consent of the people, a grant of land which had been made by Senabova

1. *498 of 1928-9*; Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem., V,* p. 16; *Ep. Rept: for 1928-9,* p. 55. The cyclic year for Saka 1330 was Sarvadhārin. Swamikannu, *ibid,* pp. 18-19,

2. *485 of 1928-9.*

3. *870 of 1927.*

4. *Ep. Rept.for 1926-7,* p. 108.

Devaṇṇa to the temple but which had lapsed. The record is dated Saka 1347 expired, Viśvāvasu, Caitra, Su. which corresponds to A. D. 1426, March.[1]

We infer that Puttige had a similar assembly of representatives from the damaged stone inscription in the Viṣṇumūrti temple assigned to A.D. 1267. Since the epigraph refers to Puttige and to the royal order made in the presence of the ministers and other officers by the king Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva from Bārahakanyāpura, we suppose that there was an assembly at Puttige as well.[2]

As regards the existence of a corporate assembly in Mūḍubidre, we have proof of it in a stone inscription dated in A.D. 1281, found in the Guru *basti* at Mūḍubidre. It refers to the regime of the Hoysala prince Vīra Ballāja during the times of his father Vira Narasirhhadeva III. And it records a decision which the officers of the State represented by Hariyappa Daṇṇāyaka, brother-in-law of the *Mahāpradhāna* Devappa Daṇṇāyaka, Mādaḍaha, son of Hosavaḍaha, *Adhikāri* Deva Aḷuva, prominent heroes, fifty foreigners (? *aivaru horahinavarum),* eight heads of the commercial guilds of Mūḍubidre called *mUnisa-seṭṭis (Bidireya nagaradalu entu manisa seṭṭikārarum),* the citizens *(nakararu),* and the officials of the *eraḍu-kōlu-baḷis,* unanimously *(tammoḷ ekastar-āgi)* arrived at concerning the preservation of a *dharmadakallu* or Edict of Righteousness. Some of the

1. *365 of 1927* ; Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph.* V. p. 54.
2. *500 of 1928-9.*

items of this interesting record are unfortunately obsolete. But it is evident from the epigraph that for those who partially despoiled the edict (by using it as a whetstone for their weapons ?), the fine would be fifty-one *gadyāṇa* at the hands of the king, while those who destroyed it completely were liable to a fine of 500 *gadyāṇa.*[1]

Another record of the same Hoysala ruler but found in Kāntāvara in the Kārkaḷa tāluka, enables us to say definitely that heavy fines were imposed on those who violated what appeared to be the joint legislation of the subjects as well as of the State. No doubt this record is dated only in the cyclic year Bahudhānya and is defaced. Nevertheless it contains the following information :—The *adhikāris* of the KānteSvara temple at Kāntāvara, and the citizens of the locality joined together and decreed that for the four households of the *grama (gramada-nalku grhakke),* there was to be a particular custom *(?savrtti)* which is unfortunately not clear in the epigraph. It any one violated this arrangement *(yi maryadeyalli-migelage kondade),* he had to

1. **Some of the terms that arc obsolete are following** ***:—aruvaru Balldlugaḷam...ndlvaru elạmegalụm asēsa hdldradhavarum...eraḍu-kōlu-baḷiya nūḍum nakaru tammọlekastar-dgi mdḍida śdsana kramavent-aṅdaḍe yint-t dharmmada kallind-ofage dyudhavanu are kittavaṅge arasiṅge (te) ruva ga 51 ne (ra) kittavaṅge (họrage) hạdidavaṅge ga 500 kondava ga... arasinge dtana jiva jivange tale (Balaṙiji)garige halaru makal kaiyali tappidade 1 tale savira honnu arasinge teruvaru kaitappu mddid-dtan-allade dtana...tam...ya mddi bandu kettidalli tappi nạdasaVāgadu r.akaradoḷagulḷạ (attạvattanu)...ttcdḍẹ Bafanja nitinge...13 of 1901; S,*** **J. J. VII. No. 213, pp. 108-9.**

pay a fine of 101 *gadyāṇa* to the temple, an equal amount to the king, and an equal amount to the *grāma.*[1]

The corporate nature of the public activities under the Alupas is further suggested in the Somanathesvara temple stone inscription of Soyideva Alupendradeva, which informs us that when he was seated on the golden throne in Bārahakanyāpura in A.D. 1315, Aḷiya Banki-devarasa, the *sāmanta pradhānas* (or chief feudatories), *(desa)purusas, eradu-kola-baliyabahattara niyogigaluC?* officials of: the *eradu-kolu-bali),* and others gave certain grants to Banki Senabova's ( man ?) Annadāta Heggaḍe.[2]

**(D) RURAL ADMINISTRATION**

The most important official of the rural parts was the Headman of the District. It was during Bōyga-varma's headmanship of the district *(Bōygavarmara nāṭu mudi-meyv!)* that king Prthvisagara had confirmed the gift of one half of the tolls both on water and on land to the cities of Paṭṭi and Udayapura.[3] The next ruler Vijayāditya Mārāmma confirmed in a similar manner tolls to the same cities, during Arakella's headmanship of the district.[4]

The minute organization of the villages together with the classification of households is seen best in the traditional accounts of Tuḷuva called *Grāmapaddhati* which will be examined in a subsequent chapter. The

1. *57 A of 1901; S. I. I.* VII, **No. 232, p. 118.**
2. **757 of** *1901; S. I. /. ibid,* **No. 354, p. 212.**
3. *102 of 1901; E. /.* **IX, pp. 20-21, op. cit.**
4. *97 of 1901; E. I. ibid,* **pp. 23-24.**

epigraphs do not enlighten us on the numerous details concerning the organization of the villages.

**(E) ARMY ORGANIZATION**

From one of the Sambhukallu records we learn that the Alupas were conversant with battle-arrays-*vyūha. A* hero called Kāltide, son of Vijaṇa Nāyga, is said to have been eminent in war, a lion in battle *(kāḷega kesari),* and to have broken in battle the (circle) array of the enemy's forces *(sāhasad ari cakra-vyūhamam oiedon).*[1] The infantry under the Alupas was called *patati (padati).* This is gathered from a stone inscription found at Udayāvara of the times of Pṛthvlsāgara.*

A significant phrase occurring in some of the early Alupa inscriptions, which has its parallel in early Gupta and Karnāṭaka records, enables us to conjecture that there were districts which were ravaged by the soldiers. Thus in the grant issued by Vinayāditya Satyāśraya to Divākaraśarmā, in A. D.692, the village granted was Sālivoge in the Eḍevoḷal-viṣaya. It is expressly stated in the epigraph that it was not to be entered into by soldiers, and that it was free from molestation.[3]

(F) TAXATION

Some details concerning the burden of taxation may be gathered from the inscriptions. One of the'

1. *94 of 1901; E.* **I. I X , pp. 17-18.**
2. *101 of 1901; E. I. ibid,* **p. 20, op. cit.**
3. *E.* **C.** VIII **Sb. 571, p. 92. Cf.** *E.* **C.** VII, **Sk. 264, p. 143; Fleet,** *Corpus Ir.scriptionum Indicatum,* **I I I , p. 98.**

inscriptions of Aḷuva Rāja Citravāhana I dated A. D. 694 mentions the imposts.[1] We have seen above that imposts and tolls once granted by a ruler were re-confirmed either whole or half, by his successor; and that there were tolls *(suṅkam)* both on water and on land. Details of the dues are to be found in one of the Śambhukallu stone records mentioned above, of the times of king Vijayāditya Māramma. It relates that that ruler confirmed the following dues to the cities of Pombuccha and Udayapura;—per double bag of grain, one and a half basket of grain ; per *maḷave* ( maund?) of cotton, sixteen *pala* of cotton; per load of arecanuts, three hundred nuts ; and per head load of pepper, sixteen *pala* of pepper.[2] The customs dues were, therefore, paid in kind.

(G) COINAGE

But the rulers and people were aware of coinage. Thus in one of the inscriptions of Citravāhana I, already cited above, the gift of the village of Sālivoge was made in A.D. 692 by the Western Cālukya monarch Vinayaditya Satyasraya, at the request of the same Alupa Mahārāja, with the pouring of water and presentation of coin.[3] It may be deduced from this that coinage was known to the Alupa rulers from the later half of the seventh century A. D. onwards. But from the above account of the customs dues levied in kind, it is

1. *E. C.* XI, **Dg. 66, pp. 62-3, op. cit.**
2. *98 cf 1901; E. I.* **IX, p. 22.**
3. *E.* C. VIII, Sb. 571, p. 92, op. cit.

also apparent, at the same time, that exchange and barter was a feature of the commercial transactions of the times. The confirmation of the gift of one half of the tolls both on land and on water to the cities of Pombuccha and Udayāvara, in the reign of Pṛthvī-sāgara, mentioned above, relates evidently to the tolls paid in kind.

In A. D. 1139 the expression *Pāṇḍa gadyāṇa mUvattam* (Thirty Pāṇdya *gadyāṇa)*[1] appears in one of the inscriptions of Bhujabala Kavi Alupendra, thereby clearly suggesting that by the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D., Tuḷuva had adopted the monetary system of the Karnāṭaka, at least so far as the *gadyāṇa* is concerned. But it must be confessed that the precise meaning of the term *Pāṇḍa gadyāṇa* is not apparant. Whether it was any one of the Alupa rulers with the second name of Pāṇḍya who introduced the *Paṇḍa gadyāṇa,* or whether it was but a mere imitation of the *gadyāṇa* already existing in the Karnāṭaka is a point which cannot be solved for the present.

A few more details concerning the political life and society under the Alupas, as gathered from their inscriptions, may be mentioned before we pass on to the topic of the foreign relations of the rulers. These refer to their social solidarity.

**(H) SOCIAL SOLIDARITY**

The precautionary clauses appended to the Sāli-voge village grant mentioned above, *viz.*, that that village

1. *176 of 1901; S.* **J. J, V I I , No. 381, p. 236, line 16.**

was not to be entered into by soldiers, and that it was to be free from molestation, show[7] beyond doubt that in the seventh century A.D., the State made definite provision for the welfare of Brahman endowments. That these formed a feature of the Alupa administration is proved by another grant also in the reign of the same Alupa king Citravāhana I. But this time it was not a grant given under the patronage of the Western Cāḷukya monarch but issued under the Alupa king's own authority. The clause in the grant to the god Kḷḷgāṇeśvara relates that "excepting the attendants of the gods, no one else (is) permitted to enjoy. Those who enjoy this, and he who causes it to be enjoyed, will remove the burden from the *Devaḍittiyer* and *Saer*, and take the produce, to be held as consecrated to the thirty-three (i. e., the gods). Those who go and enter and take, or taking enjoy, are guilty of the five great sins..."[1]

The imprecations at the end of the grants show the communal sense among the people. As in other parts of the Karnāṭaka, the fear of incurring punishment in the next world brought home to the people a sense of loyalty and respect for royal orders and public endowments. The five great sins (i: e., killing a Brahman, drinking liquors, stealing gold, committing adultery with the wife of the *guru* or incest with one's mother, and associating with any one guilty of these

1. *E.* C. VI, Kp. 37, p. 82, op. cit.

crimes)[1] are mentioned in the grant of about A.D. 675, as we have already noted above.[3] Another grant of the same age but of A}u-arasar Guṇasāgara, father of Citravā-hana I, ends thus:—"Those who ruin that, or whisper for its ruin, or think it in the mind, or advise others to ruin it, are guilty of the five great sins, and incur the punishment of the gods and the punishment of the king. Those thirty-three gods, moreover, will inflict on the destroyers of this ruling, excessive strong smells with excessive heat, and they will wither up along with those who steal silver or gold ornaments.'[,3]

The politico-religious nature of the threats held out to the violators of public grants is further shown by other records which declare that the spoliation of public measures was equal to the destruction of one of the most important religious centres of Tuḷuva. Thus, those who prevented the daily supervision of the eighteen towns mentioned above, were said to have incurred the great sin of having destroyed Brahmapura (Brahmaviiru ?) of Sivalli in Tuluva *(S'ivalliya Brahmb [a]puramum arida mahā-pātakanakku).**

The inscriptions of king Prthvisagara add two more details— one relating to the merits of a horse-sacrifice, and the other to the five great sins of one who destroy-ed Vāraṇāsi and Sivaḷḷi.[5] An inscription of his succes-

1. *Manu,* XI, 55. 2. *E. C.* VI. Kp. 37.
3. *Ibid,* Kp. 38, p. 82.
4. *100 of 1901* , op. cit. See *infra* Ch. V, Section 2 for reference to Avīci in this record.
5. *102 of 1901; E. I.* IX, pp. 20-21.

sor Vijayāditya Māramma contains one more detail concerning the horse-sacrifice : those who confirmed the grant would receive the eight-fold fruits of a horse-sacrifice ; while those who destroyed it, would incur the five great sins mentioned above in connection with Vāraṇāsi and Sivaḷḷi.[1]

The reference to the eight-fold fruits of a horse-sacrifice mentioned in two different inscriptions in regard to king Vijayāditya cannot be understood for the present. We are unable to say how a horse-sacrifice came to be associated with an Ālupa ruler. Even in the middle of the twelfth centuary A.D., the fruits of a horse sacrifice are spoken of in one of the inscriptions of Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra. In this record the names of two holy places -Rameśvaram and Kurukṣetra - are added to the two already mentioned, *viz.*, Vāraṇāsi and Sivaḷḷi. And further, those who preserved the grant would receive the fruits of a gift of a thousand cows and of a dinner to a thousand Brahmins at the Ganges, Benares, Rameśvaram and Kurukṣetra.[2]

When we come to the first quarter of the fourteenth century A.D., we meet with imprecations and threats that suggest the social solidarity of the people under the Alupas. An inscription of Bankideva Alupendradeva dated A. D. 1302, ends with the usual imprecations given

1. *98 of 1901; E. I. ibid,* p. 22.

2. *171 of 1901; S. I.* I. V I I , No. 376, pp. 231-2. On the question whether a feudatory can perform an *asvamedha* sacrifice, *pro,* read Atul Sur, *Indian Culture,* I, pp. 114-115; 704-706; J. C. Ghosh, *ibid,* I I , pp. 146-141; *contra* D. C. Sirkar, *ibid,* I, pp. 311-12.

above, and with the significant clauses relating to the excommunication from the *sthana* (i. e., locality or district) of those who violated the grant, and to their being fined by the king to the extent of fifty-one *gadyana-'i dharmavan avan-obban ahudal-endads Varanasiyala sdvira kavileya konda brahmetti Narmadevalu savira Brahmana ghataka madida brahmetti sthanadolag-dva-obban ahudal endaḍe sthdnadindhorage arasige tappu ga(dyana) 51.*[1]

One of the records of the next ruler Soyideva Ālupendradeva, dated A. D. 1315, ends in the usual Karnāṭaka manner. After mentioning the sins of killing a thousand cows in Vāraṇāsi, the epigraph continues to quote the lines from the *Puranas,* thus:—*sva dattam para-dattam va yo hareta vasundharam sasthi varsa sahasrdṇi viṣṭdyam jaṿ ate kṛmiḥ.*[2]

The same sense of united action prevailed in the later times, even when the suzerainty of the Alupas had passed completely into the hands of the Vijayanagara rulers. The epigraph which gives us details concerning the corporate activities of the people in socio-religious matters is the Kanara High School record of the last prominent Alupa ruler KulaSekhara Alupendradeva IV, which we have elsewhere described in this treatise. It registers a grant to the god Bankesvara by the king and his nephew Bankidevarasa. The following

1. *17 of 1901; S. /. I.* **V I I , No. 177, p. 75. For similar regulations in later Karnātaka history, read Saletore,** *S. P. Life,* **I I , pp. 205-209.**

2. *157 of 1901; S. /.* **I. V I I , No. 354, p. 212. These verses have been traces to the** *Bṛhaspati-Smrti,* **vv. 26-9, Calcutta, San. 1296). Bata Krishna Ghosh,** *Indian Historical Quarterly,* **I I I , p. 432.**

penalties are mentioned in this royal grant for those who failed to carry out their legitimate duties as well as for the king himself, in case he failed to do his own duty.

If a Brahman stole the property of the god ( *devara dēva$y[v]ada)* from the priest of the locality *(yi sthānada pāda mūladavara),* he would be declared to be outside the four castes.[1] If a Seṭṭi committed the same fault, he would be declared to be outside the entire Baḷañja *(dharma).* If the Vokkalu Makkaḷu[2] committed it, they would be fined 1,000 *honnu* per head. If any one partially disfigured the *sthāna*[3], 500 *honnu* ; and he who did it completely, 100 *honnu* (extra ?). If any one committed a murder, the guilty man was, according to usage, to remain with the enemies for seven days (? *kondaḍe kolisi koṇḍava hagegaḷa ēḷu dina yiddu hōya maryāde).* If the *tantriy* whose duty it was to perform all the ceremonies in connection with the purificatory bath *(avabhṛia snāna)* of the god, observing all the *sahkrāntis,* failed to do his duty, he would be fined ten and a half *honnu.* He who

---

1. **The meaning is not quite clear; *yi đevara đēvasya [va] da kuḍitaṛeyolage yi sthānada pdda-mūladavara mēle yiḷidetta kafadaḍe bettanda...ri dad,e hane kodi ele golu kadi hode end-ivara ndlku jatiyolu Brahman a madi dade kannu kai-jati sarvasya (va) nalku jatiyim poragu.* I am not sure that I have rendered this passage correctly into English. B. A. S.**

2. ***Vokkalu makkafu* lit. "sons of the representatives", since we have seen that *okkalu* was used to denote the representatives of the *nagaras* in olden times in Tujuva. But nowadasys the word *vokkalu* means tenant, and Vokkēlme is the name given to the Buṇts. B. A. Si**

3. ***Sthdrta,* as we have already remarked elsewhere, denoted the locality or district or place. But in this particular record it seems to have been used for the temple itself, B. A. S.**

failed to carry out his appointed functions at the *āsrama kala,* and he, at the *dhare-kilsanti kala,* would be fined one and a half *honnu* respectively. If the original priests *(pāda-mūladavaru)* tailed to bring the daily *naivedya* rice, and to report daily about the agreeable series of stories or conversations *(kathā-mdle),* the president *(adhyakṣa)* (of the original priests ?) would be fined five and a half *honnu.* If the permanent *senabova* failed to keep the accounts, he would be fined ten and a half *honnu.* If the *adhikāri* failed to supply oil to the lamp that was to be kept burning always *(nandā dlvigege* ), he would be fined ten and a half *honnu.* If (the official whose name is effaced ) failed to perform the *'sri bali,* or sacred offering of rice, three times (a day), or to cleanse the remains of the offerings to the gold *(nirmālya...bandu vōlagisadiddoḍe), if the* customary pledges were not carried out ( ? *yathā krammadalu aḍapu naḍeyadiddaḍe),*—for all these for the daily food *(andina grāsakke),* the tine would be double.... If the *adikāri* did not perform the customary usages concerning the *ayana,* 101 *honnu.* If the owner of the shops ( *angaḍiya adhikāri*) did not supply the Brahmans with the daily provisions like rice, oil for Sivarātri, etc.,...he would be tined ten and a half *honnu;* the same amount was imposed on those who failed to carry out the ceremonies on (four ?) successive *Amavasyas;*[1] and half a *honnu* for him who neglected to **look** after the burning of the per-

1. **The meaning of this is not clear:** ***madakke (ku) layi naḍalu yiradalu, Beḷiyinturālu yivarindā hhalaṿaliẏa koṇḍụ bandu neruvudu Amavasenalku agrava nadayisadiddade hattuvare danda.***

petual lamp. There is no usage in regard to the building of a palace within the limits of the temple ( *dēvālayadalu aramane kaṭṭuva maryāde yilla* ). Five and a half *honnu* were to be imposed (as fine) on a class of temple servants (Bākeneṅges)—who unfortunatly cannot be identified—for non-attendance.[1] If the king failed to investigate and to protect all this, he would incur the sin of having killed a thousand cows and a thousand Brahmans on the banks of the Ganges and at Rāmeśvaram *(yint-ŭa ellavam vicārisi rakṣisadiddaie arasinge Gaṅge Rāmesvaradalu sāvira kavileya savira Brāhmaṇara konda papa).* Great success to uncle *(mava)* Kulasekharadeva, who issued this stone charter of righteousness ( *yint-ṭ-dharmamam 'sila-'śasanam geyyd*) by the nephews (*aḥyandiru )* Bankideva and Bammadeva.[2]

1. *Kutaduzu Bakenengeyavaru tatu endu baha mariyadeyalu bdradiddaḍe ayiduvare daṇḍa.* **B. A. S.**

2. *23 B vj 1901* ; *S. I.* **I.** *VII,* **No. 185, pp. 81-82.**

## CHAPTER III

# FOREIGN RELATIONS

*Summary:*—**1. The Satavahanas and Tuluva-the rejection of the theory relating to the supposed identity of the Alupas and the Satvatas, the Satavahanas, the Cujus, and the Anus—the conquest of Sahya by Gotamíputra Satakarni. 2. Tuluva and the Western Calukyas-Kirtivarmā I-Pulikeśin II-Vikramāditya Satyāśraya-Kĭrtivarmā II—(The Rāstrakūta ascendancy)—Vikramāditya VI—and the Alupas. 3. The Senavars and Tuluva. 4. The Pallavas and the Alupa rulers. 5. The Colas and Tuḷuva. 6. The Alupas and the Pāṇḍyas-Neḍuñjeliyan's conquests-Saṭ'aiyan Raṇadhīra's conquests-Saḍaiyan's date. 7. The Rāstrakūtas and the Alupas—the rebellion of Citravâhana II—the date of Citravāhana II and of Rājāditya. 8. The Śāntaras and Tuḷuva—the Udayāvara *viragal*—the Bārakūru *viragal*—Raṇasaṅgara and the Sāntaras—foreign foes mentioned in Kundavarmā's inscription of *Kadri-Mahdmaṇḍaleśvara* LokanāthSvara's place in Tuḷuva history,—Bankideva Alupendradeva's relations with the Sāntaras—the Santara rulers Jagadeva and Pandyadeva in Barakuru—the Śan tar a seat at Kervase—how the Alupas came to append the surname Pāṇḍya to their names. 9. The Kadambas and the Alupas—the Kadambas of Banavāsi—troubles in the reign of Bhujabala Kulaśekhara Alupendra I—Soyideva's general levied tribute from Tujuva—the battle of Birusa and the Kadamba invasion in the reign of Kadamba Mallideva—Kāva Deva's generals attack Sōde and Ballayamakki and the battle of Perige. The Kadambas of Goa and Tuḷuva-Jayakeśin I's subjugation of Tuḷuva. 10. The Kajacuriya, the Kākatiya, and the Hosagunda schemes-Kesi Raja's conquest of Sanka Male-Kākatiya Rudradeva's alleged subjugation of Tuḷuva the claims of the Hosagunda rulers to be *Promoters***

*of the Tulu Rayas* **examined. 11. The Hoysalas and Tuḷuva—the early Hoysalas on friendly terms with the Alupas-causesof enmity between the Alupas and the Hoysalas-Visṇuvardhana Deva's conquest of the Tuḷu kings—the Hoysala general who conquered Tuḷuva-references to the subjugation of Tuḷuva by Visṇuvardhana Deva in later records—Aḷvakheḍa not broken up by the Hoysalas-Boppa Daṇḍādhipati's claims to have subjugated Tuluva—the Alupa trouble in A.D. 1194—Vira Ballaḷa-Deva I I I and Tuḷuva—as governor over Barakūru in A.D. 1281-the I and the I I . Battles of Siriśi—the Battle of Candāvūru-Vīra Ballaḷa Deva's visit to Barakūru in A.D. 1338—his chief crowned queen Krṣṇāyi Tāyi a Tujuva princess-the importance of Barakuru under the Hoysala and Vijayanagara monarchs.**

## 1. THE SATAVAHANAS AND TUḶUVA

Of late an attempt has been made to connect the Alupas with the Sātavāhanas and the Cuṭus.[1] It is maintained that the Aryan Sātvatas, or Sātvats of northern India, settled down in Dakṣiṇāpatha, that they were the ancestors of the Sātavāhanas, that one branch of the Sātavāhanas called the Cuṭus decended into Tujuva, and that the Alupas were a branch of the Cuṭus.

To these conjectures we may add the following more substantial reasons for asserting that the Sātavāhanas and the Alupas may have had some features of common origin. The Alupas like the Satavāhanas belonged to the Lunar race. The Alupas could lay claims, like the Satavahanas and the Satvats, to a local (Karna-

1. **This is Mr. Govinda Pai's theory.** ***Itihdsada iṛulalli Tuḷuvanudu. The Pancakajjdya volume of the 13th Karnataka Sahitya Sammēlana,*** **1927, p. 108 seq.**

ṭaka ?) origin. The Alupas and the Śātavāhanas had some admixture of Nāga blood.[1] And, finally, one of the Śātavāhanas, as will be mentioned presently, conquered Sahya which is the name given to that part of the Western Ghats passing through Tuḷuva.

But none of these arguments can support the theory that the Alupas were in any way connected with the Śātavāhanas. Firstly, the Alupa records found in Tuḷuva and over the Ghats do not mention one peculiarity of the Śātavāhanas. In the Śātavāhana records the name of the mother of the king always appears in conjunction with his name. The actual names of the mothers are not given but they are called after the *gotra* of their family priest.[3] Secondly, the Satvats, who are supposed by some to have been the ancestors of the Śātavāhanas, and the Vṛṣṇis are said to have lived in *sanghas* or corporations. The Alupas never lived in corporations, although, as we have pointed out, village organization in ancient Tuḷuva possessed some sort of corporate character. Thirdly, the Śātvats and the Vṛṣnis are described to have been irreverent towards Brahmans.[8] This can never be said of the Alupas whose gifts to the Brahmans and temples have been described above.

1. On the Naga affinity of the Satavahanas, read I. *A.*, XIV., pp. 333-334; Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.*, p. 15; Sukthankar, *E. I.* **XIV,** pp. 154-155; H. C Chaudhuri, *Pol. Hist.* p. 220. (1st ed.); pp. 260-261 (2nd ed.)

2. Rice, *ibid* p. 16; Cunningham. *Stupa of Barhut,* p. 129.

3. Chaudhuri, *ibid,* p. 73 (1st ed.;) 90 (2nd ed.)

The identification of the Alupas with the Anūpas is likewise untenable. No doubt there is some outward similarity between the word Anūpa and Alupa (Alūpa), that both the Anūpas and the Alupas belong to the Lunar dynasty, and that both the Anūpas and the Alupas are described to have ruled on the western coast of India. But the Anūpas occupied the valley of the Narmadā,[1] while the Alupas, the fertile region of Tuḷuva. Secondly, in no Alupa record is the word Anūpa met with.[2] Thirdly, the fact that Sahya and Anūpa are distinctly mentioned in one of the records of Gotamīputra Sātakarṇi, as having been ruled by him, clearly proves that Anūpa was never identified with Alupa.

We may dispense with a third set of assumptions concerning the alleged relationship between the Cuṭus and the Alupas. The Cuṭus were the feudatories of the Āndhras. Their coins have been found in Aparānta (Kanheri), Konkan (Kārwar and Banavāsi), and in Shimoga (Malavaḷḷi). The titles of their rulers, as determined from their coins, were Rano Cuṭu Kaḍānaṁdasa and Rano Mudānaṁdasa[3]. Here a forced relation-

1. Rapson, *Coins of the Andhrabhrtyas,* Intr. p. xxxii.

2. The Anūpas are also placed on the east coast of India, and near the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. *Mahdbhārata,* Udyoga Parva, XVIII, p. 579 (Roy). See also Nripendra Kumar Datta, *Aryanisation of India,* pp. 34-35.

3. Rapson, *ibtd,* Intr. pp. Ixxxii-lxxxiv; *E. C.* VII. Intr. p. 4; Sk. 263, 264, p. 142; *LA.* XXV, p. 28; *JRAS* for 1905, p. 304.

ship between the Cuṭus and the Alupas is not altogether impossible. The Cuṭus ruled over Kārwār and Banavāsi. The Alupas, too, as we have seen, were in some way connected with Banavāsi.

But these arguments are of no avail in establishing the alleged connection between the Cuṭus and Alupas. In the first place, the trans-Ghat origin of the Alupas can no longer be maintained. Secondly, no Cuṭu coins or inscriptions have been found till now in Tuḷuva. This justifies our assumption that the Cuṭus had nothing to do with the Ālupa kingdom. Thirdly, the similarity between the name of one of the Alupa kings and the name generally prefixed to the Cuṭus is only accidental. Finally, all the Cuṭu coins and inscriptions hitherto discovered are in Sanskrit, whereas the Alupa records are mostly in Kannaḍa. This clearly demonstrates that the Alupas did not belong to the same stock as that of the Cuṭus.

Notwithstanding the fact that no identity of origin, language, or interests is possible between the Alupas on the one hand, and the Sātvats, the Sātavāhanas or Sātakarṇis and the Cuṭus on the other, yet it has to be admitted that the inclusion of the name Sahya among numerous conquests of Pulumāvi Gotamlputra Sātakarṇi, in an inscription of queen Gautami Balāsri, the mother of the ruler, dated in the nineteenth regnal year of the king (circa A.D. 124),[1] proves beyond doubt

1. **Rapson, *Coins.*, pp. xxx-xxxv.**

that the Sātakarṇi arms had extended probably as far as the northern parts of Tuḷuva. Beyond this nothing can be said for the present concerning the relationship between the Sātakarṇi kingdom and Tuḷuva.

## 2. TUḶUVA AND THE WESTERN CALUKYAS

On the strength of the above Sātakarṇi record, it may reasonably be supposed that Tuḷuva did not form an independent political unit in the first half of the second century A.D. And yet we have ventured to suggest in the foregoing pages, on the close similiarity between the word Oloikhoira of Ptolemy and the Aḷvakheḍa of inscriptions that in the middle of the second century A.D., Tuḷuva was known by that name to the western peoples. Whatever may be the difficulty in finding the origin of the Alupa kingdom, there is no denying the fact that in the fifth and especially in *he sixth century A.D., it was a prominent principality.

We have already remarked that one of the earliest historical references to the Alupa kingdom is in the Mahākūṭa inscription of the Western Cālukya monarch Mangaleśa, dated A.D. 601-2, wherein it is said that Kīrtivarmā I conquered Aḷuka.[1] The probable date when Kīrtivarmā I subjugated the Tuḷuva kingdom may now be fixed. King Kīrtivarmā Fs own lithic records do not enlighten us on this point. We have', therefore, to argue backwards with the aid of the

1. I. *A.*, XIX, pp. 10, 14, 19; seq; *E.I.* VII. App. *A List of Insc. of S. Ḷndia,* No. 5, p. 3.

records of his younger brother and successor Mangaleśa. Here too opinion is divided concerning the date of king Mangaleśa's accession. Fleet places it in Saka 489 (A.D. 567-8), and Rice, in A.D. 597.[x] If we accept A.D. 567-8 as the earliest date for king Mangaleśa, then, the conquest of Alupa by king Kīrtivarmā I is to be placed before that date. It is not unlikely that Kīrtivarmā I may have subjugated Alvakheḍa in about A.D. 575 when, according to our calculations, Māramma Āḷvarasa ruled over the Tuḷuva kingdom.

King Mangaleśa's attention being directed to the north where the Revatī-dvīpa, the Mātangas, and the Kaḷacuriya king Buddha, son of Sankaragaṇa, had to be conquered,[2] the Ālupa ruler seems to have raised the banner of revolt, thus necessitating another Western Cālukya invasion of Āḷvakheḍa. This explains why in the Aihole inscription of Pulikeśin II, dated Saka 556 (A.D. 634-5), the following is narrated in regard to

1. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts.*, p. 21; *Mys. & Coorg*, p. 63. Rice commits an error when he makes Jayasiṁha the father only of Rājasirhha, Raṇarāga. *Ibid*; cf. Fleet, *ibid*, map facing where it is rightly said that Jayasiṁha I was the father of Buddhavarmā and Raṇarāga. That Rice is wrong in maintaining that A. D. 597 is the first year of Mangaleśa's reign, is clear from No. III Bādāmi Cave inscription dated Saka 500 (A. D. 578-9), of the twelfth year of his reign. This suggests beyond doubt that A. D. 566-7 was the first year of Mangaleśa's reign. See Fleet, J. *A. Ill*, p. 305; *ibid, VI.* p. 363; *Pali, Sanskrit, and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, No. 39, *Dyn. Kan. Dts.* p. 21. B. A. S.

2. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts.*, p. 21 Rice asserts that Mangaleśa overcame the Alupas at the same time he subdued the Kaḷacuriyas. *Mys.* & *Coorg.*, p. 61. There is no basis for this assertion. B. A. S.

the Alupa and Ganga rulers:— "Although in former days they had acquired happiness by renouncing the seven sins, the Ganga and Alupa lords, being subdued by his dignity, were always intoxicated by drinking the nector of close attendance upon him."[1] The statements that the Ganga and the Alupa lords were merely "subdued by his dignity," and that they were permitted to drink the "nector of close attendance upon him" (Pulikesin II) clearly suggest that he gave much prominence to the two rulers. By A.D. 634-5, therefore, Tuḷuva had passed under the Western Cāḷukyas once again. The Alupa ruler who, according to our surmise, was probably the contemporary of the great Pulikeśin IT Satyasraya was Kundavarmarasa (I).

The close association of the Āḷupa king with Pulikeśin II as described in the above record, explains to some extent the good feeling that continued to exist between the suzerain rulers and the feudatory Alupas till the days of Vinayaditya Satyasraya. We have already described how Vinayāditya Satyāśraya gave grants of land at the request of his feudatory the illustrious Mahārāja Citravāhana I, to deserving Brahmans.

1. E I. VI. p. 10. Mr. M. V. Krishna Rao writes that Pulikesin II "baffled all his uncle's intrigues, and by the use of energy, counsel and intrepid support from Durivinlta and the Alupas, the traditional allies of the Calukya dynasty, neutralised all the advantage that MSngalesa had gained by the actual possession of power, and succeeded in becoming king." (M. V. Krishna Rao, *The Gangas of Talkad*, p. 39. Madras, 1936). No source of information can be adduced in support of all these imaginary statements. B. A. S.

The Alupas seem to have acquiesced in the supremacy of the Western Cālukyas down to the days when the latter were expelled from the Karnāṭaka regions by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. This is inferred from an undated inscription of Kīrtivarmā II. (A.D. 747-A.D. 757), in Sanskrit and Kannaḍa characters, found at Aḍūru in the Kāsaragōḍu tāluka, South Kanara.[1]

With the defeat of Kīrtivarmā II by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the political hegemony of Karnāṭaka passed into the hands of the latter. And we ought to narrate here in strict chronological order the relations between the Alupas, the Rāṣṭrakuṭas, and other Karnāṭaka rulers. But in order to bring the history of the Western Cālukyas in Tuḷuva to an end, we may be permitted to allude to the relations between the later Western Cālukyas and the Alupa kings.[2]

1. Kielhorn, *E. I* VII. No. 50, p. 9 ; Rangachari, *Top List.* II. 76 A, p. 854.

2. Here we meet with an inscription which can be properly located only with the help of future research. It is dated A. D. 968, and it narrates that when (with usual Calukya titles) " Cattiga Deva was ruling the kingdom of the world, and (with the usual Kadamba titles) . was ruling the Banavasi 12.000 under the shadow of his sole umbrella, posseesed of the qualities of an appointed great minister, holding the office of Pērggaḍe...made in Margaḷūru and for the god (on the date specified) at the time of the sun's eclipse, Cattiga Deva was washing the feet of the Brahmans of...gave Doravale to the god..." *E,C.* VIII. Sb. 465, p. 78. We do not know whether we' have to refer the name Mangaḷūru as given in the above insctiption to the Mangajūru of Tuḷuva which, as we have already soen, came into prominence as a provincial capital in the ninth century A.D. Moreover, it cannot be determined who this Caftiga Deva was in the genealogy of the Western Cālukyas. The dates of

The next great Western Cālukya name we meet with in the history of the foreign relations of the Ālupas, is that of Vikramāditya VI, Tribhuvanamalla II, better known as Vikramārika Deva or Vikramārka. An incident took place when this ruler had been placed as governor over Gangavāḍi Six Thousand, as is related in an inscription dated A.D. 1060. It was in the reign of his father Trailokyamalla. The inscription informs us that on Ballavarasa paying a visit to the Pānugal fort, during the days of Kadamba Satyāśraya Deva, who was placed over Kāṇanūr, the following heroic event happened:— Tuluva Caṇḍiga said "I will not let (the nail) grow to my finger", and cut off the finger which he had given, at the Permmāḷu pillar, and climbing up the Bheruṇḍeśvara pillar, leaped upon the point of a spear and gained the world of gods. At this Ballavarasa and Satyāśraya Deva made suitable endowments to the temple in the Banavase Thousand. We may incidentally observe here that this Bheruṇḍeśvara pillar had been erected in A.D. 1017 by the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*

**the last Western Cālukya king Vikramāditya IV., after whom the Rāṣtrakūtas held the suzerainty of the Karnāṭaka, are not available. And the earliest date for Taila II. who retrieved the fortunes of the Western Cālukyas, is A.D. 973-4. Whether Taila himself bore the name Cattiga is not certain. In a damaged inscription found in the Narasimha temple in the premesis of the old Siddheśvara temple at Haveri, probably of the times of the king Jagadekamalla II, (A.D. 1138-A.D. 1150), an account of the Western Cālukya house is given from Taila IPs time. In this genealogical account Taila II's son is called Sattiga (Satyāśraya). Bengeri, *Karnataka Historical Review*, II, No. 2, p. 8 seq. Was the Sattiga mentioned here the same as the Cauiga of the above record ? B. A. S.**

Cāmuṇḍa Rāya.[1] What precisely is meant by the above anecdote, we are unable to determine. But in the eleventh century A.D., the Tuḷuvas were evidently renowned as heroes.

That Vikramāditya Deva VI conquered Tuḷuva is proved from the writings of his court poet Bilhaṇa who, in his *Vikramānkadeva Caritam,* informs us thus:—"When he (Vikramānka Deva) resumed his march, the trumpet of his army reminded the kings of Malyaladesa ol his former great deeds. Jayakesin, the king of Konkan, came to him and brought him presents. The Lord of Alupa made his submission and received benefits in return. The wives of the king of Keraḷa wept when they thought of Vikrama's former deeds".[2]

The lord of Alupa mentioned by Bilhaṇa cannot easily be identified. Vikramāditya VI reigned from A.D. 1073-4 till about A.D. 1126-7.[2] In the Alupa chronology, as outlined above, we see two rulers who may be placed as contemporaries of Vikramāditya VI - Udayādityarasa Pāṇḍya Paṭṭiga Deva aud Bhujabala Kavi Alupendra-deva. It is probable that the former is the lord of Alupa referred to by Bilhaṇa ; but it is equally probable that Bhujabala Kavi Alupendradeva acknowledged the suzerainty of the Western Cālukya monarch. While delineating the history of Bhujabala Kavi Alupendra-deva (A.D.1113-A.D. 1155), we asserted that he seemed to have acknowledged a suzerian in A.D. 1113-4; and that

1. *E. C.* **V I I . Sk. 152, p. 109 ; Sk. 151, pp. 108-9.**
2. **Bilhaṇa,** *Vikramānkadeva Caritam,* **Intr. p. 34, (Bombay, 1875).**

his independent reign may be placed between A.D. 1138 and A.D. 1155. The last date of the reign of Vikramāditya VI is A.D. 1126-7; and the earliest date of the independent regime of Bhujabala Kavi Alupendradeva is A.D. 1138. Therefore, it is probable that the Alupa ruler continued to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Western Calukyas in A.D. 1113-4.[1] This was a year when there was trouble in the country, as we shall relate later on; and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the Ālupa king Bhujabala Kavi Alupendradeva strengthened his position by receiving protection from the Western Cālukyas against his new[7] enemy, the Hoysalas, whose greatest soldier and statesman Viṣṇuvardhana Deva was planning the subjugation of Tujuva.

We may observe here that the memory of the great Vikramāditya VI's conquest of Tujuva still survives in Tuluva. In Barakuru near the old fort behind the Pañcalingeśvara temple is pointed out "the seat of Vikramāditya". The Vikramāditya could not have been Vikramāditya of Ujjain, as the people relate, but only Vikramāditya VI. The name Vikramārka is also met with in Tuḷu legends.

The Western Cālukyas continued to hold Tujuva under them till the last quarter of the twelfth century A.D. Of the Western Calukya monarch SomeSvara Deva's general, Kāma Deva, also called Kāva Deva, it is

1. Fleet, *Dyn. Kon. Du.* pp. 48-51. He seems to have lived till A.D. 1132-3. *Ibid,* p. 51. Rice places him between A.D. 1076 **and** A.D. 1126. *Mys.* & *Coorg.* p. 73.

said in an inscription dated Saka 1111 (A.D. 1189-90) that, after subjugating the countries of Male, Tuḷu, the Koṅkaṇas, and the Western Ghats, he was made the viceroy over Banavase 12,000, the Pānugal 500, and the Puligere or Laksmesvar 300.[1] The Alupa ruler who may have been subjugated was perhaps Bhujabala Kulaśekhara Alupendradeva I.

## 3. THE SENAVARS AND TULUVA

While describing the events in the reign of the Alupa ruler Citravāhana I, it was said that one of his inscriptions mentioned Senavarasa and the Dharmakaraṇika, who were to divide and to give the palace office share (of the produce ?) on a plastered floor. The name Senavarasa here deserves comment. These Senavara rulers belonged to the Kacchara-tfaṁśa and had the lion crest and the serpent flag. They hailed from Anupadeśa.[3] Excepting the name Senavarasa mentioned here, we do not meet with any other name of the rulers of the Kacchara-tfaṁśa in the Alupa records.

## 4. THE PALLAVAS AND THE ALUPA RULERS

On the floor of the Subrahmaṇya temple in the village of Mallam, Guḍūr tāluka, Nellore district, is a record which is dated in the fifteenth regnal year of Nandipotarasa, and which mentions that the men of the district, the villagers, and the heads of the assemblies,

1. **Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Du.* p. 86.**
2. **This topic will be dealt with by me in a separate paper. B. A. S.**

gave at the order of Caḷukkiarasar, on the petition of Aluva-arasar, thirty-five *kalanju* of gold for maintaining the lamps of the god Subrahmaṇya at Tiruvāṉbūr situated in the Paiyyūriḷaṅgōṭṭam.[1]

Nandipottarasar, Caḷukkiarasar, and Aḷuva-arasar are now to be identified. Two or more Nandipotarasars are known to Pallava history. There is Nandipotarasar, the Pallava ruler who won the victory at Teḷḷāru, The date of this ruler is not known.[2] Then there is the Pallava king Nandipotavarmā, who was involved in a struggle with the Western Cālukya monarch Vikramāditya II."* An incident in connection with this Pallava king Nandipotavarmā, who is also called by some Nandivarmā II Pallavamalla, will help us to elucidate the above identification of the Aḷuva-arasar. Scholars are uncertain as to whether Nandipotavarmā was defeated or killed by Vikramāditya II.[4] Whatever may be the interpreta-

1. Rangachari, *Top. list,* II, Nl. 205-206, p. 1074.
2. *Ep. Rept.* for 1913, p. 89.
3. Pathak, *E. I.* IX. pp. 205-6.
4. There are two copper-plate grants which are the source of information for this question—the Vokkeleri plates dated in A.D. 757, and the Kendūru plates issued by Vikramāditya IPs son and successor Kirtivarmā II. Rice, who had discovered the Vokkelēri plates, gives us conflicting opinions concerning Nandipotavarmā. In one connection he asserts that "Nandipotavarman is explicity related to be the name of the Pallava king who was slain in battle in the Uḍāka province by the Cāḷukya king Vikramāditya," when all the royal insignir fell into the hands of the conqueror, who made a triumphant entry into Kañci but without plundering it *(Mys. Inscr.* Intr. pp. lvi, 300). But in another connection Rice writes that Nandipotarasar was merely beaten by the same Western Cālukya monarch at the beginning

tion given to the Vokkelēri and the Kendūru plates concerning the fate that overtook Nandipotavarmā at the hands of Vikramāditya II, it is permissible to identify the Nandipotarasar of the Mallam inscription with the same Nandipotavarmā who was beaten by Vikramāditya II. But Cālukiarasar mentioned in the Mallam plates could not have been Vikramāditya II, but he was probably Vijayāditya Satyāśraya. We base our remarks on the following assumptions :—Vikramāditya IFs enmity to the Pallavas is well known from the Vokkelēri and the Kendūru plates. It is unlikely, therefore, that he ordered a Pallava ruler whom he hated as one "who had obscured the splendour of former kings oi his (Vikramāditya's) lineage",[1] to give a grant to a god. We have to suppose, therefore, that the event mentioned in the Mallam plates took place in the reign of his lather and predecessor Vinayāditya. For Vinayāditya Satyāśraya's reign was peaceful, and

of his reign, *i.e* , in about A.D. 733. (E. *C.* X Intr. pp. xvii, seq.) The same is repeated in *My. & Coorg.* pp. 54, 65.

Fleet, who noted the same Vokkelēri plates, is likewise uncertain as to the fate that befell Nandipotavarman. In one place he writes that Vikramāditya II "slew the Pallava king named Nandipotavarman.." *(Dyn. Kan. Dts.* p. 29, 1st ed., Bombay, 1882). But in another work he says that when Vikramāditya reached Tuṇḍākavisaya, he merely attacked and put to flight the Pallava Nandipotavarmā, who, according to Fleet, waa the son of Hiraṇyavarmā. (Bom, *Gaz.* I. P. II, p. 327) K. B. Pathak, who edited the other document Kendūru plates, opined that Nandipotavarmā was merely put to flight by the Western Calukya ruler. *(E. I.* IX. pp. 205-6). The Rev. Henry Heras merely follows Pathak. *Studies in Pallava History,* pp. 51-54. B. A. S.

1. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts.* p. 29; Pathak, *ibid,* pp. 205-6.

he maintained the supremacy acquired by his father and by his grand-father in the south.[1]

Now, from the records already cited, we know that it was Vijayāditya Satyāśraya's father Vinayāditya Satayāśraya who had twice been requested by the Alupa king Citravāhana I to make grants to worthy Brahmans in the Edevolal-visaya in the Banavase country in A.D. 692 and A. D. 694. The two grants had been made when the royal camp was in Citrasedu in the Toramara-*viṣaya* and in Karañjapatra in Hareṣapura. From these two records it is certain that the Alupa king was prone to make requests to his sovereign the Western Cālukya monarch. We have to suppose that as he had petitioned Vinayāditya Satyāśraya to make grants ot land to learned Brahmans on two differnet occasions, he made a third request to Vinayāditya Satyāśraya's son and successor Vijayāditya, who seems to have been on friendly terms with his neighbouring rulers including the Pallava kings.[2] It this is allowed, then, the Caḷukkiarasar mentioned in the Mallam plates would be Vijayāditya Satyāśraya, and the Aḷuva-arasar, Citravāhana I. In that case, the Mallam inscription must have been inscribed before the defeat of Nandipotavarmā at the hands of Vikramāditya II.[3] But the occasion which made Citravāhana I

1. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts.* p. 29.

2. *Ibid,* Vijayāditya Satyàsraya was also accustomed to move about his Empire. See *ibid,* pp. 28-9.

3. Dubreuil gives three Nandivarmās in his genealogical list of the Pallavis. The dates given to Nandivarma II, who is the one referred to above, *viz,* A.D. 717-779, do not agree with our surmise. *Ancient History of the Deccan,* p. 70. (Pondichery, 1920).

go over to Mallam in the Guḍūr tāluka will remain for the present unsolved.

## 5. THE COḶAS AND TULUVA

In the first quarter of the eleventh century A. D., a well known Tamil general seems to have subdued Tuḷuva. This is gathered from a record of Rāja Rāja Coḷa, whose great general Pañcava Mahārāya is credited with the conquests of many countries among which Tuḷuva and Koṅkan are mentioned. The inscription which informs us this is dated A. D. 1012. It further relates that having obtained the rank of *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* for Bengirimaṇḍala, and Gangamaṇḍala, Pañcava Mahārāya "seized Tuḷuva and Koṅkaṇa, pursued after Maleya, pushed aside and passed over Cera, Telugu and Raṭṭiga, as if in sport'[n].

Whether the reference in the above inscription is to an actual invasion of Tuḷuva by the Coḷas, or whether it points to a temporary occupation of that district cannot be made out with certainty. In all likelihood it was the latter that was the result of an expedition which, while directed mainly against Karnāṭaka proper, swept over certain parts of Tuḷuva leaving traces of Coḷa influence here and there. The following considerations will make it clear that it was a temporary occupation of Tuḷuva. The fact that no Alupa name figures in the genealogical account of the Tuḷuva rulers after Kundavarmarasa II (A.D. 967),

1. *E. C.* III. Sr. 140, p. 33.

strongly suggests that it was during the times of his successor that the Coja menace passed over Tuḷuva. But the pointed reference to the Coḷa danger in the inscription of the next prominent Alupa king Bankideva Alupendradeva I proves that it was more than a passing expedition which the Coḷas had sent to Tuḷuva, and that it was an Ālupa king who received Tuḷuva honour.

We have given above the *birudas* of Bankideva Alupendradeva I. The Somesvara temple stone inscription found in Mūḍukēṛi in Bārakūru, in addition to the *birudas*, seems to refer to a Coḷa raid in the following terms:—"...re *mēle (va)ṅda Cōḷana daṇḍam...Behkoṇḍa yultitta Komara daṇḍa..."*[1] This and the explicit reference in the preceding lines to the tact that he established his authority in the *Tuḷu-viṣaya* ( *Tuḷu-viṣayadoḷ nijajneyam nriisi* ) proves beyond doubt that Bankideva Alupendra deva I was responsible for the re-establishment of Alupa authority which had been to some extent shattered by the short-lived Coḷa occupation of Tuḷuva. Indeed the unique *biruda* given to him in the above record as well as in another one also found in Bārakūru, *viz.*, that he, after having re-established his authority in Tuḷuva, ruled over all the seven Male and the Seven Kombu *(Maleyelum [Kombu]m-nalinale-elu-Male pa[l]ipar ellamam nija svami S'ri-Banki-Ālupendra-devar),* implies that he carried out successfully the Alupa arms far into the Kongude^a bordering on the Tamil land.

1. *136 of 1901 ; S. I. I.* VII, No. 327, p. 176, 11. 7-8.

In this connection it is interesting to observe that the Coḷas have left some traces of their occupation in Tuḷuva. For instance, in Bārkūru we have a quarter called Cōḷkēri (Coḷa street). How this street came to be called by that name is inexplicable. Another reference to the Coḷas is found in the history of Hāḍuhalli or Hadalli or Sangitapura, the capital of the Saluvas, which was within Tuḷuva in the olden days. Legend relates that a king of the Cojamaṇḍalam lost all his children by snake-bite, and coming to the village ot Hāḍaḷḷi, his queen was delivered of a son who was immediately bitten by a snake. Just then a Brahman, skilled in the use of *mantras* for curing snake-bites, forced the snake to suck back the poison, whereupon the child recovered. The Coḷa king built the temple of Coḷḷēśvara at Bhaṭṭakaḷa to commemorate that event.[1]

The inter-connection between the people of the Tamil country and the Tuḷuvas during these ages is further borne out by the history of the immigrant classes of the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam among whom the Tuḷuva Vellāḷers figure prominently. These Tuḷuva Vellāḷers formed by far the greater body of the settlers who were induced to remain and bring the whole of the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam province under cultivation. Special previleges were given to the Tuḷuva Vellāḷers, *e.g.*, the *kaṇiyam, meṟi's (mirasi),* and other rights, still enjoyed by their descendants. It was Ādondai Cakra-

1. **Burgess-Cousens, *Revised List of Ant. Remains,* p. 194. Haḍaḷḷi lies 11 miles E. N. E. of Bhatkal.**

varti who conferred these privileges on them. Of those who held the *mirā'si* rights down to the other day, the Tuḷuva Vellāḷers formed the majority.[1]

The legendary notices of the Coḷa interference in Tuluva affairs are less reliable than the information supplied by the inscriptions. The success of the Tuḷuva arms under Bankideva Alupendradeva in the Seven Male and the Seven Koṁbu may have been partly responsible for a recrudescence of Coḷa aggression in the last quarter of the eleventh century A.D. This is inferred from a record dated A.D. 1086 which relates that Rāja Kesarivarmā Kulottunga Coḷa Deva's great conquests extended as far as the middle Sayyam (Sahya) where furious rutting elephants were captured.' More details concerning the subjugation of middle Sayyam are not available. The Alupa ruler, who was a contemporary of Kulottunga Coḷa Deva, according to our estimate, was Udayādityarasa Pāṇḍya Paṭṭiga Deva Oḍeya.

## 6. THE PANḌYAS OF MADURA AND THE ALUPAS

The Paṇḍyan accounts inform us that one Neḍufij-celiyan or Neḍuṁjeliyan, styled by some the II of that name, led a victorious expedition into the Cera land, and that he captured the sea port of Mutthu Vellil from a tribe called "Tholuvar", together with the famous emporium of Saliyur in the Gulf of Mannar.[3]

1. Ellis, cited by Wilson, *Mac. Coll.*, I. pp. 190-191.
2. *E. C.* IX. Cp. 76, p. 147.
3. Kanakasabhai, *The Tamils 1800 Years ago*, p. 84.

The name "Tholuvar", is strikingly similar to the name Tuḷuvar but nothing beyond this can be said concerning the extension of the Pāṇḍya arms into Tuḷuva. The figure of Neḍuñjeḷiyan himself is still enveloped in mystery.[1] And nothing definite is known of the activities of the early Pāṇḍyan rulers.

When we come to the ninth century A.D., however, we meet with a few details concerning the Pāṇḍyan kings and Tuḷuva. The Veḷvikkuḍi plates relate that Arikesari Asamasamam Māṟavarman conquered the Kerala country several times at the strongly fortified town of Puliyūr. The same grant informs us that his son Saḍaiyan Koccaḍaiyan Raṇadhīra, who had the title of *Madu-Karnataka,* at the great city called Mangaḷapura where the peacock danced with the cuckoo near tanks perfumed with opening flowers, attacked and destroyed the Maraṭṭas.[2]

The age of the Pāṇḍyan ruler Saḍaiyan Raṇadhīra is unsettled.[3] If Arikesarivarman Parāṅkuśa Māṟavar-

1. It is surprising that one does not find the name Tholuvar in Mr. Nilkantha Sastri's book *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom.* On the different Neduñjeliyans, read *ibid,* pp. 21, 26-28, and *ibid,* (n.) 29, 35, 253.

2. Krishna Sastri, *E. I.* XVII, pp. 291, 298.

3. Mr. Nilakanta Sastri writes thus:—"He must have succeeded his father at the end of the seventh century A.D. or early in the eighth." *(The Pandyan Kingdom,* p. 55). The date given to this ruler as well as to his father Arikesarivarman Parāṅkuśa, who "must have come to the throne some time after the middle of the seventh century "670-710 A.D." *(ibid,* p. 51)—these statements are purely imaginary. First, we shall take the argument which Mr. Sastri utilizes to arrive at the date A.D. 670-710 for Arikesarivarman Parāṅkuśa. This is based on the date given to Parāṅkuśa's father Sendan or Jayantavarman. "The

man is to be placed in A.D. 783, his son Saḍaiyan Kōco aḍaiyan Raṇadhīra may reasonably be assigned to A. D. 800. What precisely is meant by the peacocks which danced with the cuckoos cannot be made out. Probably there is some reference here to the emblems and

rule of Śendan or Jayantavarman who succeeded his father Mārvj-varman may be taken to have extended over, say, A.D. 654-670". *Ibid*, p. 50. Thus Mr. Sastri starts with a guess and ends in a conjecture ' The erroneous nature of Mr. Sastri "s conclusion will be evident when we determine the date for Arikesarivarman Parānkuśa Māravarman. About this ruler Mr. Sastri writes thus—"There is good reason for identifying this Arikesari Parankuśa Maravarman with the celebrated Kūn Pāndya of legend, and the contemporary of the Śaiva saint Tirugnānasambandar". *Ibid*, p. 53. He bases his conjectures on the *Periyapurdnam.* "These indications derived from the stories handed down in the *Penyapurdnatn* seem to confirm the system of chronology we have adopted for the Pandyas of this period." *Ibid*, p. 54.

Hut the *P et iy a pūr an am* is not the only authority on which one may base one's remarks. There are the Jaina and the Kannada writers to be consulted before we can postulate any such theory like the one maintained by Mr. Sastri. Even if we accept Mr. Sastri's conjecture that Arikesarivarman Parānkuśa was no other than king Kūn Pāṇḍya of the legend, we arrive at the following:—Kun Pandya was one of the names of the Pilṛujyan ruler called Kubja Pāndya, Kundumara, or Dirghamara, or Sundara Paṇḍya. This ruler was the husband of Queen Mangāyi Akkii of Madhura, the daughter of the Coḷa king Inu-Kulottunga Coḷa. (Here we may by the way note that Mr. Sastri admits this-—"..there is nothing improbable in the story that the PaṇoVan queen of this period was a Cola princess." *Ibid*, p. 54). Kun Paṇḍya was called Sundara Paṇḍya on his being healed and converted from Jainism into Śaivism.

Now, Pijle Nayanar was a Siva-vipra *(i.e.,* an Aradhya Brahman) of Srikalinagari. He had converted king Inu-Kulottunga Coḷa into Śaivism, and had won victories over the Jainas and the Buddhists at Tirumarkkada and Tiruvalava. Then under the name of Jnanasa-mandhar—the Tirujnanasamandhar of the Tamil texts—he had gone to the court of Queen Mangayi Akka of Madhura where, as related above, he converted Kun Paṇḍya into Śaivism from Jainism. The

flags of the Alupa rulers about which no direct evidence is forthcoming in history. The late Mr. Krishna Sastri rightly identified the Maṇgaḷapura of the above inscription with Mangalore in Tuḷuva.[1]

But the word Maratṭas deserves to be explained. This could not have referred to the Marāṭhas of later

18,000 Jainas whom he had defeated were impaled on red hot *śtihn* which Kulacchāri, the Queen MangaȳT Akkū's Śaiva guardian, had prepared. Pille Nāyanār or Jfīanasambandhar was, we may incidentally note, the teacher of Vāglśa or Tiruviigīśa. These details are gathered from the Kannada works *Cenna Basava Furdna* (55, 33, 34), the *Basava Purfina* (50, 25, 4 ; 11, 15, 16 ; 9, 48), the *Praudha Rāya Carite* (Ch. 18), and *Rajasekharavilasa*, (I, 77, '/8-88), which range from \.*D*. 1369 till A.D. 1655. *(Karndtaka Kavi Carite,* I. p. 424 ; IT. pp. 305, 307, 442). It may be objected that their evidence is, therefore, not of much use in determining the date of Kūn Pāndȧa. But it may be observed here that these Kannada authors faithfully preserved the traditions current m their times, and that, therefore, some reliance may be placed on their statements.

Having learnt something about Kūn Pāndya and the great saint Jnanasambandhar from the Kannada sources, we may now turn our attention to the Jama writers for determining the date of that ruler. Kūn Pāndya was the contemporary of Jinasenācārya, the author of *Brhadharivamsa* ot Śaka 705. *(Mys. Archl. Reptjor 1025,* p. 102). Therefore, Kun Pandya may definitely be placed in A.D. 783.

Mr. Sastri says that Arikesarivarman Parāṅkuśa Māravarman was the same as the "celebreted Kūn Pāndya of legend, and the contempo* rary of the Śaiva saint Tirugnanasambandhar." *The Pandya Kingdom* p. 53, op. cit. If that is, so, then, on Mr. Sastri's own estimate we may place Arikesarivarman Maīavarman in A.D. 783. Therefore, the whole edifice which Mr. Sastri has built concerning what he calls "the Age of the First Empire" collapses. We thus find that Mr. Venkayya's assertion *(Ep. Rept.for* 7907, para. 20) that Arikesari Parāṅkuśa may be assigned to the eighth century A.D.. is more correct. On p. 51 n. (1). Mr. Sastri has vainly endeavoured to demolish Venkayya's arguments, B.A. S.

1. *E. I.* XVII. p. 29S. Mr. Nilakanta Sastri follows him. *Pandyan Kingdom,* p. 55.

history. The identification of the Maraṭṭas can only be solved when we examine the Tuḷuva-Rāṣṭrakūṭa relations. The part played by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas will presently be explained. Here we may note that in the reign of Prabhūtavarṣa Govida III, the Rāṣṭrakūta king, an Alupa feudatory was punished with the forfeiture of a part of his territory. The reason is obvious: on the failure of the Ālupa ruler (Citravāhana II) to carry out the imperial order against Saḍaiyan Raṇadhīra, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa viceroy, no doubt at the instance of the emperor, became angry and sent a general against the Alupa king. What exactly were the reasons which made the Alupa king give lukewarm support to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa cause, we are unable to determine. It may be that the hostility of the Raṣṭrakūṭas to the Western Cālukyas between whom and the Alupas there had been such good relations for centuries, had something to do with failure of the Alupa ruler to carry our the imperial commands of the Rastrakuta monarch. Whatever that may be, Saḍaiyan Kōccaḍaiyan Raṇadhīra, who had attacked and destroyed the Maraṭṭas, i: *e*. the Mahā-Raṣṭrakūṭas, in the city of Mangalāpura, seems to have secured the title of *Madu-Karnāṭaka* for having defeated an essentially Karnāṭaka army in a town that was under a Karnaṭaka dynasty.

We thus find that the age we have assigned for fiaḍaiyan Kōccaḍaiyan Raṇadhīra agrees perfectly well with the date of the Alupa king Citravahana Il-viz., A.D. circa 800. Hence the episode of Saḍaiyan is valu-

able in bringing order out of what was nothing but chaos in the history of the Pāṇḍyan rulers Arikesari Parāṅkuśa Māṟavarman and his son Saḍaiyan. The following synchronism may here be noted :—

| Pāṇḍya | Alupa | Rāṣṭrakūṭa |
|---|---|---|
| Arikesari Parāṅkuśa Māṟavarman (A.D. 783) | Vijayāditya (A.D. 750-770) | Dhruva Nirūpama I (A.D. 750) |
| Saḍaiyan Kōccaḍaiyan Raṇadhīra (circa A.D. 794-800) | Citravāhana II (circa A.D. 800) | Govinda III Prabhūtavarsa (A.D. 794-814) |

Moreover, the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant is also important in determining the date when Mangaḷāpura became a provincial capital. We remarked above that Kundavarmarasa II had the image of god Lokesvara installed at Kadirikā in A.D. 967. The Vēḷvikkudi plates enable us to assert that Mangalāpura was a great city in A.D. 800. It must have been selected as the provincial capital in the days of Kundavarmarasa II for political reasons enumerated elsewhere in this treatise.

## 7. THE RAṢṬRAKUṬAS AND THE ALDPAS

The age of Tamil aggrandizement in Tuḷuva was eventful so far as the history of the Alupas was concerned. This brings us to the elucidation of the happenings in A.D. 800, concerning the Alupa ruler Citravahana II. A few words about the Raṣṭrakuṭas are

necessary in order to understand better the spirited resistance made by the Alupa ruler. In the eighth century A.D. the Rāṣṭrakūṭas led by Dhruva Nirūpama, father of Prabhūtavarṣa Govinda III, had caused consternation in ihe Karnāṭaka kingdom by imprisoning the Ganga king Sivamāra, and by extending the Raṣtrakūṭa arms into the Pallava, Gauḍa and Mārwār territories.[1] Dhruva Nirūpama had but carried out the imperialistic designs of his father Kṛṣṇa I Kannara Akālavārṣa, who had broken the power of Western Cālukyas.[3] We have seen that the Ālupas had been the feudatories of the Western Cālukyas for nearly two centuries. It is but natural that the Ālupas should have resisted the claims of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas when the latter now proclaimed their suzerainty over the Cālukya empire.

This alone explains the following stone epigraph, iound in the *basti* Hittalu. Māvaḷigrāma, Sohrab taluka, Mysore State, which pictures Citravāhana II as a rebel. The incriptionis not dated. It relates that when Prabhūtavarṣa Govindarasa was ruling the whole world bounded by the lour oceans under the shadow of his sole white umbrella, and Rājāditya was ruling the Banavase country as far as the ocean, Citravāhana ruling the Āḷuvakheḍa Six Thousand , not listening to orders, Kolli Pallava Noḷamba being angry, at the bidding of Noḷambarāditya, that Kākarāsa arose, and throwing the

*

1. Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.*, pp. 68-9. Read also Altekar. *The Rastrakutas and their Times*, p. 54.

2. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts.*, p. 33.

Perugguñji fort into confusion, the brave warriors of both the armies eagerly came out, and "bow closing with bow,horse with horse, a most exciting battle arose. Seeing Citravāhana on the right hand fighting as if overpowered, he ordered Kulamudda (called in another record *rājapuh [* royal tiger ], and son of Aridara Poleyamma of Māyile ), saying 'you go and fight on this hand', who, accepting it as a favour, closed in, fought, brought down the enemy's pride, put them to headlong flight, and defeated that hand. He himself and many ohers shooting arrows and approching close, were caught up as in a cage of arrows and fell, as Bhiṣma fell, without touching the ground."[1]

The identification of the Rājāditya mentioned above enables us to fix the date of Citravāhana II who was his contemporary, and incidentally to substantiate our surmise concerning the date assigned to the Pāṇḍyan king Saḍaiyan Kōccaḍaiyan Raṇadhira. Rājāditya Rāja Parmeśvara is said to have ruled over Banavase Twelve Thousand under king Jagatunga. This record is not dated.[2] But we know from other records that Jagatunga was the name of Prabhutavarsa Govinda III

1. *E. C.* VIII. **Sb. 10, pp. 2-3, text, p. 5 ; Sb. 6, p. 2. Dr. Altekar distorts Alvakheḍa into Alurkheda of which he makes Citravāhana "Commissioner" ! And he assigns this record to A.D. 797.** ***Rastrakutas and their Times*****, p. 174. Concerning Kulamudda we may note that both Aridara Poleyamma and after him Kulamudda are mentioned under Ereyammarasa who was placed over the Banavaseraḍ in circa A.D. 800 in the reign of Govinda** III. ***E.*** **C.** VIII. **Sb. 9, op. cit. B. A. S.**

2. *E.* C. VIII. Sb. 22, p. 5.

whose earliest date is A.D. 794.[1] We know too from the Manne plates dated A.D.802 that in the early years of Govinda III's reign, he was too much engrossed, first, in quelling a confederacy of twelve kings headed by Stambhaor Kambha or Sauca Kambha Deva, Raṇāvaloka, and then in interfering in the affairs of the Gangas, and, finally, in driving away the Gujjara, in receiving the submission of Mārasrava in the Vindhyas, in encamping on the Tungabhadra on the island of Rameśvaratīrtha where the Pallava king paid up in full the tribute that was in arrears, and in witnessing there sports with boars.[2] It cannot be that Govinda III thought of punishing the Ālupa ruler when his mind was thus distracted by more urgent needs. Hence during the first five or six years of his reign, it is probable that neither Govinda III nor his viceroy Rājāditya placed over Banavase Twelve Thousand turned his attention to the affairs in the Ālupa kingdom. We may, therefore, assign the inscription relating to the viceroyalty of Rājāditya over that province to A.D. 800. The statements that he was ruling "the Banavase country as far as the ocean[2]", and that Citravāhana, who is said to have ruled over the Alvakheḍa Six Thousand, and who "not listening to orders", headed a rebellion, clearly prove the subordinate position of the latter. Rice is, therefore, justified in assigning this inscription to A.D. 800.

1. **Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.*, p. 67.**
2. ***Ibid*, pp. 69-70.**

But Rice supposes that Rājādityarasa was the son of Kolli Pallava Noḷamba, the Kolliyarasa of the Gānjam plates.[1] And he also asserts that Noḷambarādityarasa was advised by his father Kolli Pallava ( in the exercise of his paternal authority ) to attack Citravāhana, and to reduce him to obedience.[2] But this is a gratuitous assumption, since there is nothing in the inscription to show that Kolli Pallava Noḷamba advised his son Rājāditya to punish Citravāhana. If any supposition can be hazarded at all, it is the one we have ventured to give above concerning the attack on Mangajāpura by the Pāṇḍyan ruler Saḍaiyan Kōccaḍaiyan Raṇadhīra, and the failure on the part of the Alupa king Citravāhana II to carry out the imperial orders at the bidding of the Banavase viceroy Rājāditya.*

---

1. *E.C.* IV. Intr. p. 10. But bee *E.* C. III. Intr. p. 3 where Rice makes Kolli Pallava Noḷambarāditya himself !

2. *E.* C. IV. *ibid.*

3. We may mention here a copper plate grant found at Ka^aba. It was issued from Mayurakhanḍi and is dated Monday the 24th A.D. 812 ; and it refers to the grant made by the same Rāṣṭrakū^a monarch Govinda III, at the request of a Ganga chief Caṅgiraja to a Jaina sage Araklrti, disciple of Vijayakirti. The only point that may be noted so far as the history of Tuḷuva is concerned, is the fact that the above grant was found at Kaḍaba which was one of the four famous centres of Brahmanism in Tuḷuva, and which then must have formed a part of Tuḷuva. Now it is in the Tumkur district of the Mysore State. J. *A*- XII. pp. 11, 13 ; XXIV. p. 9 ; *E. I.* IV. pp. 132-40 ; Kielhorn, *List.* No. 66, p. 11 ; Rangachari, *Top. List.* II. No. 300, p. 876. There is also a placed called Kadaba in the Putter tāluka, South Kanara. B. A. S.

## 8. THE SANTARAS AND TUḶUVA

The following *viragal* was found in Udayāvara: *svasti Sri S'antararaaṭṳ Medumañan illi eridu vlldān* [1]. It merely relates that Medumanan, the *alu* or servant ( i. *e.*, soldier ) of Śantara, having fought fell in Udayāvara. 'This hero memorial stone has to be explained from the point oi view of Alupa history.

The *vlragal* in question cannot be dated to the end of the seventh century A.D., since it does not contain the earliest variant of the name Sāntara-Cañta [2]. But it has to be referred to about the ninth century A. D. when Jinadatta Rāya founded the Śāntara kingdom. 'The following arguments will make our point clear:—

With Jinadatta Rāya the Cantas or the Śantaras, who were of the U*gra-vam'sa,* worshippers of the goddess Padmāvati, boon lords of northern Madhura, appear for the first time in the Nagar tāluka with Paṭṭi Pombuccha as their capital [3]. Now, we know that till the end of eighth century A. D., that city was under the Ālupas. The fact that Jinadatta Rāya made it his capital suggests that he wrested it from the Alupas somewhere in the ninth century A. D.[4] Not content with making Patti Pombuccha their own, the Śamaras made an attack on the capital of Ajvakheḍa itself-Udayāvara-thereby showing the vigour which characterized the Śāntaras and the utter helplessness of the ĀKpas. This supposition of ours is proved by the

1. 70S *of 1901* ; S. I. I. VII. No. 294, p. 146.
2-4. Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.,* p. 138.

non-appearance of the name Paṭṭi Pombuccha-henceforth lost to the Alupas—in the Alupa records after the ninth century A.D. It is not surprising that Paṭṭi Pombuccha was lost to the Ālupas: the Tamil menace from the south, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa trouble in the north, and the aggressive designs of Jīnadatta Rāya from over the Ghats—all these explain the blank in the history of the Alupas after Citravāhana TI for about 120 years.[1]

To this period of confusion ( A . D . 800 A. D. 920 ) may be assigned another undated *vlragal* which was found in the Durgā temple at Hosahoḷalu near Hāra-kūru. It narrates the iollowing:—*svasti S'rl-Bārakanu-ralu* ( *Tu* ) *yyana (to) mmanana kāḷagaḷ (du) ṭta (karam) nūnki sattaṃ Ariya (cu)-(Aycevu) uḍṇa (va) ra maidunanga Āriya Cavunda maidunangalu Mallana dutta-kara kal-nattu vageyu.** The *vjragal* informs us that in the fight with wicked people ( *dutta karam* ), ( Tu ) yya's brother ( Mallana ? ) fell. The worthy (Ariya-Arya) Ayceunda's brother-in-law the worthy Cavuṇḍa erected the *vlragal,* and gave war-relief ( *kal-nattu* ) to the relatives of the deceased/

1. The aggressive nature of the Sāntara attacks is seen in many records of the times. Thus, an inscription dated about A.D. 930 or earlier, relates that under Bira Nolamba of the Pallava-*kula,* "rising up against Śāntara", Battamarasa died fighting. *E.C.* X. Sp.64, p. 281. The date given to Jinadatta Rāya—*circa* 8th century A.D.—by Rice *(E. C.* VIII. p. 8) has, therefore, to be abandoned. B. A. S.

2. 757 *of 1901* ; *S. I. I.* VII. No. 388, p. 245.

3. On *kal-naṭṭu,* see *E. C.* XII Mi. 71, p. 111. This is dated *circa* A.D. 920.

The following may be noted in regard to the above *Viragak*—Bārakuūru is called merely *S'rī-Barakanūr* which is undoubtedly the oldest and the most correct rendering of the name, the variant Bārahakanyāpura being a later invention. The name Bārahakanyāpura, as we have already remarked, appears only in the reign of king Dattalpendra ( A.D. 959 ). Hence this *viragal* has to be assigned to an earlier age.

Evidence from the writings of Arab travellers and from epigraphs confirms our assertion that Bārakanūr was the earliest and the most trustworthy form of the name. Rashīd-ud-Dīn, who completed his work *Jami-uUTawarīk* in A. D. 1310, notices the following important ports of Tuḷuva:—"Of the cities of the shore the first is Sindabūr, then Fakanūr, then the country of Manjarūr...".[1] Although Rashīd-ud-Dīn wrote in the first quarter of the fourteenth century A. D., yet his book may be considered for all practical purposes, as a work which presents "a picture of the Mussulman knowledge of India at the end of the 10th century".[2] Rashid-ud-Din's Fakanur is a correct rendering of the Barakanur of the above *viragal.* The testimony of this Arab traveller may be taken to prove that to the foreigners Bārakūru was always known by its real name Bārakanūr, and not by its later variant Bārahakanyāpura.

1. **Elliot-Dawson,** ***History of India as told by her own Historians,*** **I. p. 68 ;*JRAS* for 1870, pp. 342-345.**
2. **Elliot-Dawson,** ***ibid,*** **p. 42.**

Three inscriptions dated A. D. 1129, A. D. 1140, and a third one dated about A. r. 1141, to be cited in a later context in connection with the conquest of Tuḷuva by the great Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhana Deva, give uniformly the name of the city as Bārakanūr. This proves beyond doubt that in the first half of the twelfth century, and earlier perhaps, Bārakanūr was the popular name of the city.

The wicked people *(duṭṭa-kāram)* have now[1] to be identified. They were no other than the Santaras whose *āḷu* had already caused some commotion, as narrated above.

In this connection we may note that one of the *birudas* of Kundavarmarasa, as given in the inscription on the pedestal of the Lokeśvara image at Kadirikā dated A.D. 967, already cited in the earlier pages, is the following:—*dattāṃ bhuvā (vam) nirākṛtya balāt vi'svāsa-ghdtinaṃ rajyam sva-bhu(ja)viryena grh'itaṃ yena manina* The treacherous enemy referred to in the above passage could have been only the Santaras, who may have taken shelter in the Alupa kingdom under pretexts not known to us. Since they had caused trouble both in Udayāvara and Bārakūru, it is possible that the Alupa ruler shifted his capital to Mangaḷūru which was far removed from the Santara attack.

If the above considerations are admitted, then, the *viragal* under review may be assigned to the middle* of the ninth century A.D.

1. *27 B of 1901,* **op.cit.**

The importance of the above two *viragals* and the Kadirikā record is, therefore, not only that one of them gives us the true name of a provincial capital of the Alupas, but that they prove that in the ninth century A.D., the Santaras had extended their influence to Udayāvara, Bārakūru, and perhaps even to Mangaḷūru as well.

The Sāntaras having thus proved dangerous, a remedy had to be discovered by which the Alupas could put an end to their depredations. This they found in marriage alliances. The dynastic connection between the Alupas and the Sāntaras is best seen in reference to the two Alupa rulers Ranahjaya and Bankideva. From the genealogical list of the Sāntaras as given by Rice we take the following:—One of the Sāntara kings who created the Sāntalige Thousand into a separate kingdom was Hiraṇyagarbha Vikrama Sāntara, *Kandukāciirya, Dānavinoda.* He is placed alter many sons who had ruled after Raṇakeśin. Hiraṇyagarbha married LakṣmI Devī, daughter of the Banavasi king Kāma Deva. Their son was Cāgi Sāntara who married the daughter of Aḷva Raṇañjaya, called Eñjala Devī. Long after Cāgi Santara had ruled over the Sāntaḷige Thousand, there came Ammaṇa Deva who married Hdcala (Hoysala) Devī. By her he had two children—a daughter named Bīrabbarasi, and a son called Tailpa Deva. Birabbarasi was given in marriage to Banki Aḷva ; Tailapa Deva married Banki Aḷva's younger sister called Mankabbarasi. Tailapa's second

queen was Kaleyabbarasi, daughter of the Ganga king Pāleya Deva. By her Tailapa Deva had three children-the eldest Bīra Deva, also called Biruga and Vira Sāntara ; the second Singi Deva ; and the third named Barmma Deva. Biruga Vīra Sāntara married three wives—the first named Bijjala Devi, daughter of the Noḷamba Narasiṅga Deva, the second Acala (or Būcala) Devi, daughter of the king Aḷva, and the third known as Vira Mahādevī, younger sister of Cattaḷa Devi, and daughter ot Rakkasa Ganga.[1]

We are concerned here with the identification of Aḷva Raṇañjaya, Banki Aḷva, and the Āḷva king whose daughter Acala (Būcala) Devī was given in marriage to Biruga Vira Santara *(Alvara magal Acala Deviyaru...).* The date of the last named Santara ruler may be settled thus:—we have nine inscriptions of a Trailokyamalla Vira Sāntara Deva ranging trom A.D. 1060 to A.D. 1070.[2] He is to be identilied with Biruga Vira Sāntara. His first two sons were called Bhujabala and Nanni. Now a Bhujabala occurs in a record dated A.D. 1066, and a Nanni in A.D. 1077.[3] An inscription of about A.D. 1070 records the death of Vira Sāntara.[4] Another inscription mentions the lather of Bhujabala with the titles Bira Deva, king Biruga.[5]

1. Rice, *E.C.* VIII. Intr. p. 6. seq. See also Nr. 35, Tl. 192, Sa. 159, of A.D. 1077, 1103, and 1159 respectively, pp. 122-3, 133-138, 203.
2. *E. C.* VII. Sk. 63, p. 54. See also *ibid* Sk. 46, Sk. 62, pp. 50, 53-4 ; *E. C.* VIII. Nr. 47, 4b, 63, 70, 71, pp. 150-151, 155, 159.
3. *E. C* VIII. Nr. 59, p. 154 ; Nr. 35, p. 133.
4. *Ibid,* VII.Sk.62, p. 53.
5. *Ibid,* VIII. Nr. 38, p. 143.

One of the queens of Biruga Vīra Sāntara was Bijjala Devī, the daughter of Noḷamba Narasinga Deva. The latter is mentioned as ruling over Kadambaḷige Thousand in A.D. 1051, and over the Kogali Five Hundred together with the Kadambaḷige Thousand in A.D. 1054.[1] These records clearly prove that Narasinga Deva and Biruga Vīra Sāntara were contemporaries.

Birgua Vīra Sāntara's date may also be determined from the point of view of his third queen Vīra Mahādevi * She is called the younger sister of Caṭṭaḷa Devī, daughter of Rakkasa Gaṅga. Here the epithet *daughter* should be understood as *grand daughter*. The Gaṅga king Srīpuruṣa slew a Kāḍuveṭṭi in battle in about A.D. 750, and Rakkasa Ganga's grand daughter Caṭṭaḷa Devi was married to a Kāḍuveṭṭi in about A.D. 1050 when she obtained the title of *Kaḍava Mahadevi*.[2] The Caṭṭaḷa Devi mentioned in the above grant could only have been the same Caṭṭaḷa Devī spoken of in the Sāntara genealogy. This again conclusively proves that the date assigned to Biruga Vīra Sāntara—A.D. 1060- is correct.

On the strength of the above deductions we may place queen Acala Devī's father Aḷva ten years before

1. *E. C.* XI. Hk. 65, p. 123 ; Jl. 10, p. 85.

2. *Ibid*, X. Intr. p. xxi; *Ibid*, VIII. Nr. 35, p. 133, seq. Rakkasa Ganga's date is A.D. 984. A record of his reign relates that Puliga ruled over the Nojambavāḍi Thirty-two Thousand, under Rakkasa Ganga, in *circa* A.D. 985. *(E. C.* X. Sp. 58, p. **280).** This damaged record proves that the Nojambavadi was under Rakkasa Ganga. The erwnity of the Sāntaras and the Noḷambas may have been responsib le for the dynastic alliance between the former and the Gangas who were the enemies of the Noḷambas. Read Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.*, pp. 56, 57, 139. B. A. S.

the first date of Biruga Vīra Sāntara, *viz.*, in A.D. 1050. The Aḷva was no other than Banki Aḷva who married Bīrabbarasi, and who gave his younger sister Mankabbarasi in marriage to his own brother-in-law Tailapa Deva. According to our calculations, he could have been no other than Bankideva Alupendradeva I. We may note here that Birabbarasi became the chief queen of Bankideva Alupendradeva:— *-a Blraladevl Bankiyaḷvaṇge maha-deviy-adaḷ.*

A difficulty arises here : if Aḷva, the father of Acala Devī, was the same as Banki Aḷva, the brother of Mankabbarasi, how can the marriage of Biruga Vīra Sāntara with the same Alupa ruler's daughter be explained ? Such marriages are permissible by what is known as *sddarike, viz.,* the marriage of one's own daughter with one's own nephew.

We may mention here one detail found in the Some^vara temple inscription of Bankideva Alupendradeva, cited already in the previous pages. This defaced and undated inscription contains the following:— *"..tyaga-(da) kaṇiyum-agi SāntaU sayiramam eka c(ch)attra-cchāyayim rājyam-geyyuttam Koṅkaṇa-bhayafikaram Malepa(ku).** "* What precisely is meant by *kaṇiyum-dgi* and by the word Malepa, and how far the assertion that the Sāntalige Thousand was under the sole umbrella of Bankideva Alupendradeva, we are unable to say.[2] But it is probable that the Alupas under Bankideva Alupendradeva

1. *136 of 7901* ; *S. I.* I. VII. **No. 327, p. 178.**
2. *Supra* **Ch. I I I . Sec 5.**

were becoming powerful not only to ward off the aggressive designs of the Coḷas,, but also to cast over the Sāntaḷige Thousand their sway for some time. Indeed, the *birudas* of Bankideva Alupendradeva given in an earlier connection, strengthen the belief that that ruler had ushered in a new era in the history of the Alupas. The S̄antara-Alupa alliance was meant perhaps to guard the interests of both against the Hoysalas, who had by this time assumed the *role* of imperialists. Only in this way can we explain the word Malepa occurring in the above inscription.

The date of Bankideva Alupendradeva and ol his contemporaries Biruga Vīra S̄antara and Narasiṅga Deva being thus settled, we may now proceed to work backwards in order to reach the date of Aḷva Raṇañjaya whose daughter En̄jala Devī was given in marriage to Cāgi Saṅtara *(dtangam Alvora [ Ra ] nan̄ayana ma gaḷ En̄jala Deviyaram* ). Between Cāgi Sāntara and Biruga Vira S̄antara we have seven Sāntara rulers. If we assign twenty years to every one of them, we reach A. D. 920 for C̄agi S̄antara, and, therefore, for Aḷva Raṇañjaya.[1]

1. This date may be verified by examining the date of Adiyūr Śāntivarmā, the father of Jakkala Devī who was given in mairiage to Vira S̄āntara, the son of Cāgi Sāntara. If we identify the Śantivarmā mentioned above with the Śāntivarmā spoken of in connection with the brave deeds of one of his subjects, then, Vīra Sāntara may be placed in *circa* A.D. 940. Śantivarmā would then have to be placed m A.D. 940 and not in A.D. 991, as done by Rice, *My. & Coorg.* p. 186.

We do not know whether the event mentioned in the following undated inscription has to be referred to the times of Aḷva Raṇañjaya.

After the dynastic alliance with the Santaras, the name Pāṇḍya appears more frequently among Ālupa names. We have seen that Prthvisāgara (A.D. 730-750) had the name *Uttama Pandya.* How the Ālupa rulers from Pṛthvīsāgara onwards came to append the surname Pāṇḍya is a detail which cannot be satisfactorily explained for the present. It cannot be that the Alupas borrowed that name either from Santaras. who do not figure at all in the eighth century in the neighbourhood of Tuluva, or from the Pāṇḍyas of Madura, who had no direct dealings with the Ālupa rulers in that age.

The most substantial gain which the Ālupas received from the dynastic connection mentioned above was the friendship of the Santara rulers who now appear more frequently on the scene in Tuluva. We shall restrict ourselves to three stone inscriptions which enable us to assert that the Santaras had planted firmly their feet on Tuluva soil. The first ot these records was found in the Pancalingesvara temple at Kotakeri in Barakūru. We give the inscription in full since it has to be located in Alupa history.

This record narrates that when Satyavākya Kongunivarmā Dharma Mahārāja, boon lord of Kuvalālapura, lord of Nandagiri, śrīmat Permmānadi was ruling, (he) gave the *kalnād* of Belgali to Kankayya for piercing Bāva, the *nāl-prabhu* of Ajvanjcl who had attacked the Ganga seat *(asana). (E. C.* V. Ag. 35 p. 251). The inscription is undated, but Rice has assigned it to about A.D. 930. It cannot be made out whether the Aḷvanaḍ refers to Alvakheḍa Six Thousand, or to the territories of the other minor families whose name also ended in Alva. Neither is more information forthcoming about the person c ailed Bāva who attacked the Ganga seat. B. A. S.

It opens with figure of a *cakra* and with *svasti,* and proceeds to narrate the title of the chieftain thus :— ***samadhigata pañca-mafiā sab da mahāmaṇḍale'sVaram-Uttara-Madhura-adhl'svaram Patti-Pombuccha-puraVar-adhl'svaram mahā-ugra-vam'sa-lalamam Padumavati-Deviya lu(a)bdhavara-prasada-sadhitam vipula-tula-puraṣa-hiraṇya-dani-dana Vānara-dhvajamam mṛga-raja-lañcchanam Ke'sava~(yira)ritya sakaḷa-jana-'stutya nlti-'sastra-ni(ratarum) Kanduka-acarya-manda radhairyanum ('sr'imu)rtti-Narayana Kirti-parayaṇam srimatu Viśvanatha-devara-dibya 'srl-pada-padma-aradhyakarum para-baḷasadhakarum-appa Pailana-baliya Vita Jagadevarasaru 'srimatu Paṭṭamahadeviyarum Paṇḍya-devarasarum sthira-simhasanadim sukha-sankatha-vinodadim-rajyam geyuttam-irdda kaladalli Barahaknyapurada haravariya nagira hanjamana-volagaddl-irdda-a sannidhanadalu Kabura-haravariyoḷage srimatu Mdrkandeśvara devara vamabhagada Mahadevarige naivedya-kke eradu koṭṭa bhami hullu...kuva gadde nalganḍugedalu bittuva bede-geṇalu mude 90...***[1]

The Government Epigraphist (Mr. Venkoba Rao) wrote the following in connection with the above record :—"A certain Pāṇḍyadevarasa has been mentioned as a joint ruler with Jagadevarasa; but we cannot say who these chiefs were."[2]

Our concern lies in identifying the Vīra Jagadevarasa mentioned in the above inscription together with the queen and the ruler Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva, and in fixing the inscription in Alupa history. We shall first begin

1. *775 of 1901* ; **S. I. I. V I I . No. 380, pp. 235-6.**
2. *Ep. Rept. for 1926-7,* **pp. 108-9.**

with the *birudas* given to the chieftain Vīra Jagadevarasa. He has a string of *birudas* of which we select the most representative ones: *samadhigata pañca-mahā-'sabda mahamaṇdale'svaram, Uttara-Madhuradhi'svarum, Patti-Pombuccha-puravar-adhi'svaruṃ, Makā-Ugra-vaṁ'ba-lalāmam Padumavāti-deviya-labdha-vara-prasādā-sadhitam. ... Vānara dhvajamam, ṃrga-rāja-lāñcchnamam...para-balạ sādhhakarum.* These were essentially Sāntara titles.[1]

Now, we have many Jagadevas in Karnāṭaka history. Of these we identify the Vira Jagadevarasa mentioned in the above Kōṭekēri record with the Jagadeva spoken of in an inscription dated A.D. 1104 as having attacked Dorasamudra, and as having been driven off by Ballāḷa Rāya I and by his brother Biṭṭiga Deva in the same year.[2] He is the same Jagadeva who is described as one of the feudatories of the Western Cālukya monarch Jagadekamalla II. He appears in A.D. 1149-50 as governing from Setu which Rice has located in Kanara *(i.e* , Tuḷuva ). Obviously after the disaster which he suffered at Dorasamudra in A.D. 1104 when his attack on the Hoysala capital had failed, and his treasury together with the central ornament of his necklace had fallen into the Hoysala hands, he had moved down to Tuḷuva where he secured the alliance of the Alupa ruler Bhujabala Kavi Alupendra and established a principality at Setu.*

---

**1. Cf. The Sāntara titles in *E.* C. VIII. Nr. 35, p. 133 9eq. *Mys. & Coorg.* pp. 138, 140.**

**2-3. Rice, *My. & Coorg.* pp. 99, 140. Fleet makes him ruler of Paui Pombucchapura. *Dyn. Kan. Du.* p. 53. (n), 66. For other**

It may be noted that in the above inscription from Kōṭekēri Vīra Jagadevarasa, who had secured (completely) the right to use the five great instruments *(pañca-mahu-śabda),* who was a *mahāmaṇḍale'svara,* chief lord of northern Madhura, boon lord ol Paṭṭi Pombuechapura, ornament of the great *Ugra-vam'sa,* one who had by the boon obtained From the goddess Padmāvatī having completed the *tuta-purusa, maha-dana,* and *hiranyugarbha* gifts, one who had the monkey-flag and the lion crest, *Kcsavayarita (?*), Kandukacarya, Mandara in firmness, in fame Nārāyaṇa, one whose praise was resounded, worshipper at the lotus feet of Viśvanātha, ^bduer or foreign enemies, and one who belonged to the *Pailana-bali* (?), was not ruling from Bārahakanyāpura. On the other hand, it is distinctly said that Paṭṭa Mahādevi and Pāṇḍya Devarasa were seated on the firm throne at Bārahakanyāpura, ruling the kingdom of the world listening to the pleasant stories relating to morality and *dharma.*

The Pāṇḍya Deva mentioned in the above inscription was no other than the Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva who reigned from A. D. 1113 to A. D. 1155, and two of whose inscriptions were found in the Pañcalingeśvara temple at Koṭekēri in Bārakūru. One of these records also mentions the *mūla-sthāna* of the god Mārkaṇḍeśvara of the same locality. And the Pattta Mahadevi (crowned queen) spoken of in the above

Japadcvas in A.D. 1095, 1160, 1175, 1180, 1189 and 1216, see *E. C.* VIII. Sa. 66, 87, 91-93, 95, 125, 131, pp. 104-118. B. A. S.

inscription of Vira Jagadevarasa was the same Pāṇḍya Mahādevī mentioned in the same inscription, where she is distinctly said to be governing Pannirpalḷi-ft *uran-alva Paṇḍya Maha-deviyar.*[1]

The Kōṭekēṛi inscription under review is, therefore, important, from three points of view:—Firstly, it proves beyond doubt that Pāṇḍya Cakravartin fthuja-bala Kavi Ālupendra's crowned queen was a Sāntara princess with the cognomen of Pāṇḍya. Here we have another link in the Sāntara-Ālupa alliance.

Secondly, it introduces a Sāntara figure whose exact relationship with the Sāntara princess cannot be determined. That he was indeed ;> chieftain who had pretensions to a territorial rule, and that he gave a grant of land to the god Mahādeva in Bārakīiru, there cannot be any doubt.

Thirdly, the evidence of the above inscription demolishes the assertion of Rice that "The extension of the ( Sāntara ) kingdom below the Ghats probably took place in the fifteenth century when the kings had the title (Mg.42) *ari-rāya-gaṇḍara-dāvani* (cattle-rope to the champion over kings )" [3]. The appearance of the Sāntaras in Tuḷuva below the Ghats may be dated to the first half of the fourteenth century A. D. Jn fact, as will be presently shown, by the first half of the fourteenth century A. D., the Sṛntaras had secured an unassailable position in Tuḷuva. We may note here,

1. *777 of 1901* ; S. I. I. VII. No. 376, pp. 231-232, 11. 16-17.
2. Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.* p. 140.

however, that the *biruda ari-raya-gandara-davani,* which Rice supposes was used by the Sāntaras in the fifteenth century, was similar to the title assumed by Kāltide, son of Vijaṇa Nāyga, during the troublesome times of the Alupa king Raṇasāgara. The Sambhukallu inscription which supplies us wih the details already narrated in the preceding pages, while relating the political history of the Alupas, gives Kāltide, among other *birudas,* the following one—That he was one who applied a cattle rope to the array (of his enemies)—*vikraman aniyu davanam-oddavon.*[1]

For reasons to be stated in a later context in connection with the Ālupas and the Hoysalas, the epigraph of Vira Jagadevarasa may be assigned to the year A. D. 1114 when the Aḷvakheḍa Six Thousand people committed havoc in the territory of the Hoysals necessitating the extension of the Hoysala arms into Tuḷuva. This would mean that the visit of Vīra Jagadevarasa took place a year after the accession of Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Kavi Alupendradeva, i. c, in A.D. 1114.

The appearance of Vīra Jagadevarasa, the Santara chieftain, in Bārakūru on the occasion when Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Kavi Alupendradeva and his crowned queen were seated in public audience in Bārakūru(Bāra-*kanyāpurada haravariya nagira haṁjamāna vaḍḍolagaḍoḷ-irdda-a sannidhanadalu),* not accidental. If our identification of Vira Jagadevarasa of the Kotekeri inscription with Jagadeva who raided Dorasamudra is correct, then,

1. *94 af 1901* ; *E. I,* IX. pp. 17-18, op. cit.

his presence in Bārakūru is easily explained. This was the age when the Hoysalas had swept over the Karnāṭaka. We shall explain how they proved a great danger to the Alupas. It was to protect the Tuḷu country against the aggressive designs of the Hoysalas that Pāṇḍya Cakravartin not only cemented the Alupa-Sāntara alliance by marrying a Sāntara princess, but also by witnessing a grant of land to the god Mahādeva in Bārakūru by the Sāntara chief Jagadeva. Indeed, it is not improbable that the Alupas had helped the Sāntaras in founding a principality on this side of the Ghats within the limits of Aḷvakheḍa Six Thousand as a barrier between themselves and the imperial Hoysalas.[1]

Political necessity, therefore, was one of the causes which brought about the Sāntara-Alupa alliance. Outside this there does not seem to have been anything common between Alupas who claimed a Lunar descent and the Santaras who belonged to the Ugra-vamsa. Nevertheless the dynastic relationship between the two houses may have been responsible for the firm hold which the Sāntaras had in Tuḷuva. When we come to the first quarter of the fourteenth century A.D., we see the Sāntaras well established in the eastern part of Tuḷuva. We gather this from the stone inscription in

1. The exact relationship between Vīra Jagadevarasa and the Santara queen of the Alupa ruler cannot be determined from the epigraph. Perhaps he was her father. But this is only a supposition which is based on the order in which the three names appear in the inscription ; first that of Vira Jagadevarasa, then that of the queen, and lastly that of the Alupa ruler. B. A. S.

the Gurugaḷa *basti* at Hiriyangaḍi near Kārkaḷa in Tuḷuva. This is a Jaina inscription which begins with the usual Jaina invocation and gives the following *birudas* to the ruler Lokanātha Devarasa:—

*Samasta-bhuvana'srayam S' ri-paramesvaram maharajadhirajam raja paramesvram paramabhattarakam 'samadhigata-pañca-mahāmanḍaleśvaram Mattara (Uttara ?) Madhuradhi'svaram Path Pombuccha-puravar-adhisvaram maha-Ugravarii'sa-laṫamam Padmāvatl-đevi-labdha-vara prasāda-āsādita vipula-tuld-purusanam Parisva(Par'sva)-devara~dibya-'srhpada padma-ārādhakanum-appa 'srimatu'raya-raja-guru-maṇḍala-ācāryarum ¯raya-jlvaraksapaḷarum Baliṭila-raya-cittacamatkārarum mantravādt-makara-dhvajarum-appa śrimatu Cāruklrti paṇḍita-dēvara dibya 'srl-pāda-padma-āradhakanum-appa parabala-jagad-dala sr'iman maka man ḍale svar a sri Lokanatha- devarasaru prthvl-rajyam-geyyuttam-iralu.* The phrase *pṛthvhrajyam-geyyuttam-iralu* used in regard to the *Makāmaṇḍaleśoara* Lokanātha Devarasa suggests that he was ruling perhaps in an independent capacity. This supposotion is strengthened by the absence of the name of the suzerain in the epigraph.

The inscription is dated *S'aka-varṣa 1256 neya Bāhva saṃvacc(t)sarada Phālguna S'uddha pañcami Buddha vāradandu* which corresponds to A.D. 1335 February Tuesday the 28th, the week day not corresponding.[1]

The epigraph records a gift of land to the Śāntināthadeva *basti* in Karekaḷa (Karkaḷa) built by Kumu-

1, Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.*, IV. p. 272. Here the Nija Phālguṇa has been taken into consideration. B. A. S.

dacandra Bhaṭṭāraka Deva, chief disciple of Bhānuklrti Maladhāri Deva, by Vasa Siddala Devī, the crowned queen *(paṭṭadarañi)* of Srīmatu Bommi Devarasa, and by the elder sisters of Lokanātha Devarasa, by name Bommaḷa Devī and Somala Devī, in the presence of Allappa Adhikāri, and all the important citizens of the locality. The gift of land ( specified in detail ) was made on the birthday of Lokañatha Devarasa *(S'rl-Lokanatha-devarasara vaḍḍantiya dinadalu.)*[1]

From the above the following genealogical descent of the ruler Lokanātha may be gathered :—

Bommi Deva = Vasa Siddala Devī

Bommała Devi Somala Devi Lokanatharasa

It cannot be made out in what manner Lokanatharasa was connected with Vira Jagadevarasa mentioned above. But that they belonged to the same Santara stock there cannot be any doubt. The following difference, however, may be noted in their *birudas:*—

Firstly, Vira Jagadevarasa calls himself merely one who was entitled to the use of the *pañca-maha-'sabda* and a *mahamandalesvara.* But Lokanatharasa styles himself *samastabhuvana'sraya, 'sri-prthv'ivallabha, maharajadhiraja, rajaparame'svara,* and *mahamandale'svara.* Hence, Lokanatharasa evidently enjoyed greater independence than Vira Jagadevarasa.

And, secondly, both call themselves lords of northern Madhura, boon lords of Patti Pombucchapura,

1. *71 of 1901 ; S. I. I.* VII. No. 247, pp. 124-5.

crest-jewels born in the *Ugra-vaṁ'sa,* and those who performed many gifts of gold. But whereas Vīra Jagadevarasa was the disciple of Visvanatha Deva, and of the *Pailana-baḷi* (?), Lokanāthrasa was the disciple of Cārukirti Paṇḍita Deva one of whose titles was *Ballāḷa-rāya-citta-camatkāra (One who charmed the mind of Ballāḷa Rāya).*

Once again we may be permitted to reiterate the similarity between the titles assumed by Lokanātharasa and the Alupa king Kulaśekharadeva III.[1] The suggestion that the Sāntara ruler was in some manner dynastically connected with the Alupa king is irresistible.

In neither of the two records—the one hailing from Kōṭekēṛi and the other from Hiriyangaḍi—is the capital of the Santaras distinctly mentioned. Karkala may have been the capital under Lokanātharasa. But the earliest appearance of a Sāntara capital is met with only in the first quarter of the fifteenth century A.D. The stone inscription which gives us this and other details was found in Koraga at Maraṇe in the Kārkaḷa tāluka. It is dated Saka 1331 Sarvadhārvi Puṣya Su. 10, Thursday which corresponds to A.D. 1408, December the 27th Thursday.[2] The record was issued when Vīra Bhairava Kṣamapāla and his son Pāṇḍya Bhupāla were ruling from the capital Kervase. Evidently Pandya Bhupala was associated with his father as a *yuva-rāja.*

1. *Supra,* Ch. II, Sec. 7.

2. *530 of 1928-9; Ep. Rept.* for 1928-9, pp. 59, 10. According to SwWikannu's Tables, Su. 10. corresponds to December Friday the 28th, the week day not corresponding. Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.,* V. p. 19.

That the rulers were of the Sāntara family is proved by the *birudas* assumed by the king Vīra Bhairava Kṣamāpāla—*lord of northern Madhura, boon lord of Patṭi Pombucchapura, worshipper of the goddess Padmāvatl, one who had the banner of the monkey god and the insignia of a lion, one who belonged to the Ugra-varĥsa and to the family of Jinadatta.*

The Koraga inscription records a grant of land issued from the capital Kervāśé by king Vīra Bhairava Ksamapala, at the instance of Vasanta Kīrti Rauḷa of the Baḷatkāragaṇa, for offerings to the image of PārsVanātha and for feeding ṛṣis in the *basti* at Bārakūru built by the king at Coḷiyakēṛi in that city. The Madras Government Epigraphist (Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer) has identified the Pāṇḍya Bhūpāla of the above inscription with the Vīra Pāṇḍya who built the famous Gomaṭa statue at Karkaḷa in A.D. 1432.[1]

A passing note may be made of the later Santara kings of Tuḷuva. One of them was Abhinava Pāṇḍya Deva Oḍeya ol the family of Jlnadatta mentioned in a

1. *Ep. Rept.for 1928-9,* p. 80. The reference is given to *63 of 1901.* Two objections to the above identification are the following — In the Marane record Pandya Bhupala's father Vira Bhairava Ksamapāla is mentioned as a ruler of the *Ugrn-vaṁśa.* In the Gomaṭa statue record *(63 of 1901)* dated A.D. 1432 February the 13th, Vira Pāṇḍya's father Bhairava is said to have belonged to the Lunar race. Further, the preceptor of Vira Bhairava Ksamāpāla was Vasantakirti Rāuḷa of the Balātkāragaṇa ; whereas the preceptor of Bhairava of the Gomṭṭa statue record was Lalitakīrti Bhaṭṭaraka of Panasoge of the Deśiyagaṇa. *(63 of 1901; E. I* VII, p. 109; I. *A.* XXIX, p, 119, seq.) B. A. S.

stone record dated Saka 1378 (A.D. 1556-7), found in Hiriyangaḍi in Kārkaja.[1]

The continual recurrence of the name Pāṇḍya in the Alupa and other records must have led the reader to enquire whether the Alupas, the Sāntaras, and the Ucchangi Pāṇḍyas had anything to do with the Pāṇḍyas of Madura. The Madras Government Epigraphist (Mr. Venkoba Rao) after noting the similarity between the Lunar race of the Alupas and that of the Ucchangi Pāṇḍyas, remarks that the latter "also had family traditions similar to those of the Pāṇḍyas proper". Then, commenting on the *biruda* of Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1083-1124)—*Irukkaveḷa*—, he opines that that title was also the name borne by members of the ancient family of "Koḍambāḷūr chiefs figuring in the Saṅgham works, who had their headquarters at Koḍarhbāḷiir (Koḍarhbai) in the Pudukkoṭṭai State", and who also belonged to the Yādava clan. Mr. Venkoba Rao's conclusion is the following:— "A consideration of all these facts (given above) leads to the conclusion that the Ucchaṅgi Pāṇḍyas had some sort of connexion with the Koḍarhbāḷūr Yādava chiefs ; but we have no data to definitely posit if this consanguinity dated only from the time of the victories at Mangalore, Vātāpi and Adhirajāmangala noted above, or whether the Ucchangi Pāṇḍyas, and also the Alupas, belonged to one of the eighteen Yādava clans who are believed to have migrated from the north in the Puranic age under

1. *70 of 1901; Ep. Rept.* for 1926-7, pp. 108-9.

the leadership of the pioneer coloniser, sage Agastya *(Velir-varalaru,* p. 8), and to have settled all along the west coast down to the southern corner of the Travancore State, where the Ay chiefs of Aykkuḍi of the 9th century A.D., Kokkarunandaḍakkaṇ and Vikramāditya Varaguṇa, claim to belong to the Vṛishnikula ( *Travancore Arch. Series* I, p. 191)." [1]

To state that the Ucchangi Pāṇḍyas "had some sort of connexion with Koḍarhbāḷur Yādava chiefs", and to draw the inference that these and the Āy chiefs of Aykkudiwere of one stock because the Karnataka rulers had intimate dealings with the Pallavas, is to mistake fact for fiction and to postulate conclusions that have no basis in history.

To start with, we may observe on what sure ground the lineage of the Ucchangi Pāṇḍyas and that of the Madura Pāṇḍyas together that of the Koḍambāḷūr chiefs and of the Pallavas, may be said to rest. The Ucchangi Pāṇḍyas called themselves originally *Lords of Gokarṇapura,* and *Protectors of Konkaṇarāṣṭra* and later on as *Lords of Kañcipura.* They had the fish crest, and one of them had the title of *lrukkaveṭa.*[2] But this is of no avail in tracing a common descent between the Ucchangi Pāṇḍyas and the Tamil rulers. For the Tamil titles as well as the Tamil emblem were assumed by the Ucchangi Pāṇḍyas after inflicting a crushing defeat on the Tamil kings and generals. The *biruda* of *Lord of Kañcipura* was adopted by the Pāṇḍyas

1. *Ep. Rep. for 1926-7,* p. 108. 2. Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.,* pp. 149-50.

in consequence of their having defeated the Coḷas.[1] In like manner we may assume that the title of *Irukkavēḷa* was perhaps borne by Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya after defeating a Koḍambāḷūr chief. As to the typically Madura Pāṇḍya emblem of the fish crest, we shall not be wrong in supposing that that *biruda* was borne by the same Ucchangi Pāṇḍya feudatory after winning a victory over the Madura Pāṇḍyas. He is credited with the conquest of many countries among which Drāviḍa and Andhra appear in A.D. 1128.[2]

That the Ucchangi Pāṇḍyas assumed the name oi the ruler whom they subdued and showed particular favour to the subjugated territory, is further proved by the name *Cedi Rāja* borne by the Ucchangi ruler Pāṇḍya, son of Mangaya or Aditya Deva, who had subduded the Kaḷacuriya king of Cedi or Bundelkhand. The same Pāṇḍya ruler is stated in one inscription to have been "permanently partial to the Pāṇḍya country [v], thereby suggesting that he probably made common cause with them for purely political reasons. In fact, the statement in the inscriptions that the blows of the bracelets of Āditya Deva's son Pandya resounded on the conch shell on the top of Purandhara's head, and that he set up his fish crest on the great rocks

1. Rice, *Mys. & Coarg.*, pp. 149-150. Cf. the Hoysala Vinayaditya inscribing the word *Rakkasa Hoysala* on his flag after defeating the Gangas. *E. C. VI.* Mg. 13, p. 61. This refers to a victory, and not, as Rice supposes, to "connection with the Ganga King Rakkas." *My. & Coorg.*, p. 98.

2. *E.* C. *XI.* Dg. 90, p. 68. See also Dg. 3, p. 24.

on the chief mountains are to be understood in the sense that they describe his military achievements and nothing more.[1]

As regards the alleged Yādava descent common to the Ucchangi Pāṇḍyas and Koḍambaḷūr chiefs, it may be noted that no tangible conclusion can be drawn from it. Diverse feudatory families with nothing common between them styled themselves as having belonged to the Lunar race. Thus, for instance, both the Ucchangi Pāṇḍyas and Hoysalas claimed to be of the Yādava-itaṁśa. But it is wrong to infer that they had a common origin. The Yādava claims of all or most of the ruling families of southern and western India, especially of the mediaeval times, are wholly inadmissible. We have shown from the history of the Alupas themselves that they were perhaps of the Nāga origin. The suggestion that the Alupas and Ucchaṅgi Pāṇḍyas belonged to one of the eighteen Yādava clans, who are supposed to have been introduced by the sage Agastya, is entirely gratuitous. Had the Alupas the least pretensions to the Yādava descent or had they been connected in some way with the sage Agastya, we would have had that fact mentioned in any one of the Alupa records, or in those of the Karnāṭaka monarchs who had intimate relations with the Ālupas. But the inscriptions of neither the Alupas nor Karnāṭaka rulers contain any hint in regard to Agastya and the Yādava descent of the Alupas.

1. Read, *Mys. & Coorg.* pp. 149-150; *E.* C. VII. Intr. p. 26; *E. C.* XI. Intr. pp. 16-18.

Mr. Venkoba Rao postulates certain theories in the same *Report for 1927,* concerning the name Pāṇḍya among the Ālupas. "On the analogy of a time honoured convention which existed in those days, namely, that a feudatory generally added the name of his suzerain to his personal name, in token of his subordinate status, we have to assume that either the Alupa chieftains of the locality began to use Pāṇḍya surnames as expressive of their vassalage to them, or that the introduction, if new, of Pāṇḍya names was the result of some possible marriage relationship between the Ālupas and the Paṇḍyas at this period. This will have to be confirmed only by future finds." The writer then connects the name Uttama Pāṇḍya met with in the Ālupa records with Melai-Koḍumaḷūr in the Rāmnāḍ district which was rechristened Uttama-Pāṇḍya-nallūr "from some Uttama Pāṇḍya". He then proceeds directly to deal with the temple of the god Pāṇḍyeśvara found in a suburb of Mangalore[1].

The tradition of appending the surname of a suzerain by a feudatory was well known both to the Karnāṭaka and Tamil peoples. But to assert that the Alupas took the name from some Pandyas (of Madura?) is erroneous. Expecting a few notices of the Pāṇḍyas of Madura as related above, and a few more to be given in the next chapter, there is nothing to suggest that the Alupas were subservient to the Madura Pāṇḍyas in any period of their history. We meet with the name Uttama

1. *Ep. Kept, for 7926-27,* pp. 107-108.

Pāṇḍya for the first time only in connection with Pṛthvīsāgara who bore that surname as well as the name *Vijayāditya.* There is no evidence to prove that that Alupa ruler was in any way connected with the Madura Pāṇḍyas. It is futile, therefore, to trace the Ālupa surname Uttama Pāṇḍya either to the Pāṇḍyas of Madura or to the name Melai-Koḍumaḷūr *alias* Uttama-Pāṇḍya-nallīir. We have seen that it was with Pṛthvisāgara that the tradition began of associating the Alupas with the *Yadu-vaṁśa.* Udayāvara passed through a critical period when Pṛthvīsāgara became king. It is no wonder that he assumed the surname *Vijayāditya* and *Uttama Pāṇḍya,* and thereby connected himself with the Pāṇḍyas of the epics to whom his adherents must have traced his descent. Indeed, there seems to have been a strong tendency among the Alupa rulers to style themselves after the heroes of the *Mahābharata.* This accounts for the name Svetavāhana, Vijaya(āditya), and Dhanañjaya among the Alupas.[1] Only in this manner can we explain the name Pāṇḍya appearing in the Alupa records.

## 9. THE KADAMBAS AND THE ALUPAS

Territorial contiguity and political status were perhaps responsible for the close association of the Ālupas with the Kadambas since earliest times. Tradition, as we shall narrate in the next chapter, connects Mayūravarmā, the first great historical figure* in

1. *527 of 1928-0; Ep. Rept.for 1028-0,* p. 80.

Kadamba history, with Tuḷuva. Historically speaking, however, the Halmiḍi stone inscription (Belūr tāluka, Hassan district, Mysore State), discovered in 1935 by Mr. B. Rama Rao of the Mysore Archaeological Department, carries not only the Alupa genealogy one step iurther than Māramma Āḷvarasar, but enables us to assert that Tuḷuvanāḍu and the Kadambamaṇḍala began to have intimate relationship from about the fifth century A.D.[1]

The Halmiḍi stone inscription is being edited by Dr. Krishna of Mysore in the *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Depaatment.* A transcript of the record being unfortunately not available, we shall have to be content with the paper which Mr. Rama Rao read at the *Eighth All-India Oriental Conference* in December 1935. The epigraph in question is of first-rate importance from the point of view of the Alupa history as well as from that of the Kannaḍa language. It is in old Kannaḍa excepting the invocatory verse which is in Sanskrit. The Sanskrit verse is in praise of Viṣṇu. The characters of the record, according to its discoverer Mr. Rama Rao, belong to the fifth century A.D. This assumption in regard to the date of the inscription is further borne out by the reference to Mrgeśa, the Kadamba king, Paśupati, a prince or

**1. The assertions of Mr. Moraes that Kadambamaṇḍala or Vanavāsimaṇḍala was ruled over by the Alupas throughout the period of th-j Cālukya predominance, and that under the Rāṣṭrakūtas too it continued to be governed by the Alupas for well nigh half a century till about the year A.D. 800 *(Kadamba-Kula,* p. 81) are incorrect. B.A.S.**

general, and the Bhatari-kula which names have been mentioned in stone inscriptions assigned to *circa* A.D. 450 and found in the Pranesvara temple at Talgunda.[1]

The Halmiḍi stone inscription records a battle in which the Sendrakas, the Bāṇas, and the Pallavas took part, and registers a gift of two villages named Palmiḍi (mod. Halmiḍi) and Mu̅ḷivaḷḷi ( mod. Malēnahaḷḷi) as balgalcu(war-relief) to Vija-arasa by a Kadamba chief of the Bhaṭari-kula. In this connection the name Aḷuva (ka ?) appears as one of the allies on the side of the Kadamba chief[2].

We may incidently note here that the village Palmiḍi mentioned in this record was no other than the'same Paḷmiḍi said to have been in the *Sendraka-visaya.* which was given as a gift to Bhavasvāmi by the Kadamba king Kṛṣṇavarmā, as is related in the Beṇṇūr plates assigned on palaeographical grounds to A.D. 420.[3] Under what conditions this village of Palmiḍi was transferred from the possession of Bhavasvāmi to that of Vija-arasar is not known. But the Beṇṇūr plates confirm the historicity of the village of Palmiḍi and its importance in the Kadamba times.

---

1. *My. Archl. Rept.for 1911,* p. 35.

2. I regret very much that beyond this I am unable to comment on the Halmiḍi record. A short account of this fine discovery appears in the *Summaries of the Papers* read at the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference, pp. 99-100. But a cursory examination of the characters of the inscription which Mr. Rama Rao so kindly gave me for perusal in Mysore at the Conference convinced me that his opinion in regard to the age of the characters was quite valid. B. A. S.

3. *E.* C.V.B1. 245, p. 276.

The Halmiḍi record is doubly important. Firstly, it establishes beyond doubt the antiquity of the Kannaḍa language. And, secondly, it carries the Alupa name to the fifth century A.D. The plain name Aḷuva given in this important Kadamba record obviously has to be referred to a ruler who preceded Māramma Aḷvarasar whom we have assigned to about A.D. 575. The Alupa ruler mentioned in the Halmiḍi inscription could not have been the later Aḷuvarasar who, according to our calculations, succeeds Māramma Aḷvarasar. The exact identity of the Aḷuva king of the Halmiḍi record cannot be determined at the present stage of our investigations.

A stone inscription found in the MahālingesVara temple in the Bantra village, Putturu taluka, is of particular interest in asmuch as it not only shows that a part of Tuḷuva, probably that adjoining the slopes of the Western Ghats, was under the Kadambas but also gives us the name of an altogether new figure in the history of the Kadambas. The characters of this stone record are assigned to the eighth century A.D. The ruler named is Nṛpamallarāja, while the Katamba (Kadamba) king called Racamallan-Dugarāja, brother of Vilarittaliyarasa and of Narasingan-Dugaraja, is also referred to in the same epigraph. The inscription probably registers an agreement pertaining to the enjoyment of lands.[1]

1. *151 of 1930-31 ; Ep. Rept. of the S. Circle for 1930-31,* p. 49.

The name Nṛpamallarāja is most unlike any Alupa name we have met with hitherto. Whether this ruler is to be fixed in the gap after A.D. 800 and before A.D. 920 is doubtful for the present. Likewise is it not possible to decide in what manner he was connected with the Alupa house. As regards the other names, Rāc-mallan-Dugarāja, Viḷārittajiyarasa and Narasingan-Dugarāja, we may observe the following:— The fact that the first one is called a Katamba shows that they belonged to the Kadamba family; and the fact that the stone inscription was found within the limits of Tuḷuva indicates that the Kadambas about this time had some relations with Tuḷuva, trie exact nature of which cannot be determined for the present. The names Rāc-mallan-Dugarāja, and Narasingan, it may also be noted, are met with in the history of the Gangas of the main line.[1] But we must leave this question here for want of more data, noting however that Rācmallan-Dugarāja does not figure in any known Kadamba record discovered hitherto.

1. There were three Rācmallas in the history of the Gangas ;— Rācmalla I, son of Nitimārga who seems to have come to the throne in A.D. S70. *E.* C. I. Coorg, No. 2 ; *My. Arch. Rep.for 1930,* p. 145. Nītimārga himself was the son of Rācmalla I whose dates are not known. Rācmalla III was also called Narasinga Rācamalla. *E. C,* VIII, Nr. 35, p. 135 ; Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.,* p. 50. The nameDugaraja recalls the Ganga name Dugamāra, whose other name was Ereyapa. This Ganga ruler was king over Kojāla and the adjoining nāḍs in the Gaṅgavaṭḷi in A.D. 767. *E. C.* X. Intr. p. xi. He was the third son of Sripurusa. *E.* C. X. Intr. p. viii; *Mys. & Coorg.,* pp- 39, 55 ; *My. Arch. Rept. for 1929,* p. 103-104. In later Ganga history we have Narasinga, brother of Erega. *E. C.* VIII. Intr. p. vi. B. A. S.

When we come to the later half of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth century A.D., we find the Kadamba rulers, who were in some manner allied to those of the earlier stock of Banavase, engaged in bringing Tuḷuva within their sphere. The founder of this line of the Kadambas of later times was Barma Deva, whose son was Boppa Deva. The son of the latter was Soyi Deva one of whose generals was Vikramāditya. The detaced inscription dated Saka 1099 Jyeṣṭha Su. Dasami Adivāra ( = A.D. 1177 May the 9th Monday the week day not corresponding), which contains these details informs us that general Vikramāditya was placed over the Banavasenāḍ and that the kings of Hayve, Koṅkaṇa, the celebrated Gaṅgavāḍi, and Tuḷu gave tribute to him.[1]

How far general Vikramāditya's claims to have levied tribute from Tuḷuva were valid, and whether the reference is to the Ālupa king or to the Santara chiefs who may have had their principality on the outskirts of Tuḷuva, as mentioned above, it is not possible

1. Rice assigns this record to A.D. 1237 which is altogether inadmissible. For the date is clearly given in the original. *E.* C. VIII. Sh. 384, p. 68 ; Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph.* IV, p. 356. On Soyi Deva read Rice, *Mys, & Coorg.,* Mr. Moraes makes Barmarasa and his grandson Soyi Deva rulers of Nagarakhanda. *(Kadamba-Kula,* pp. 234, seq.) Why he doubts their Kadamba claims *(ibid,* p. 235) cannot be made out. In *circa* A.D. 1182, they are called rulers born " in the lotus line of the Kadambas," *(E.* C, VII. Sk. 197, p. 125), and in A.D. 1171 Soyi Deva is styled "the glory of the *Kadamba-kula" (E.C.* VIII. Sb. 345, p. 60). Mr. Moraes has nothing to say about Soyi Deva's general Vikramaditya who is alleged to have levied tribute from Tulu. B. A. S.

to say for the present. But the Ālupa ruler who was a contemporary of general Vikramāditya was Bhujabala Kulaśekhara Alupendradeva I whose times, indeed, were pregnant with trouble for the Alupas.

For we have already seen that under the Western Cālukya monarch Someśvara IV, his general Kāma Deva also called Kāva Deva, viceroy over Banavase Twelve Thousand and other provinces, as is related in an inscription dated A.D. 1189-90, levied tribute from the Tuḷu country.[1]

A third incident in the reign of Bhujabala Kulasekhara Ālupendradeva I relates to the battle on the plain of Birusa in which the Ālupas seem to have given a good account of themselves. This is gathered from an illegible inscription which may be assigned to the year A.D. 1220, of the times of the Kadamba Cakravartin Malli Deva. The inscription relates the following:—"When...Malli-devarasa was ruling...when Śāreya Bhairava Ñāyaka had proved superior to the Aḷvas in battle, the Aḷuva Sankeya Nāyaka slew the whole of Biṟeya Deva's force. So that both armies applauded, he fought in the plain of Birusa, and in Basavaḷi was united to the celestial nymphs who bore him away."[2]

This epigraph needs some comment. There is nothing in it to justify the words "was ruling a peaceful

1. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts.* p. 86, op. cit.

2. The date A.D. 1200 given to this by Rice is purely hypothetical. *E.C.* VIII. Sb. 188, p. 30. It is possible that we may have to refer this inscription to the second year of the reign of Malli Deva or hereabouts. B. A. S.

kingdom" inserted by Rice while translating this record. If Malli Deva's sixth year was A.D. 1224, as the Kuppagaḍḍe stone inscription informs us,[1] then the first year of his reign may be taken to be A.D. 1217-8. It has been wrongly inferred from the above record that "Sāreya Bhairava Nāyaka who was evidently the head of the new dynasty, attempted at this time to overthrow the Aluva family, the constituted authority in the province, and carve for himself an independent kingdom. From the name Bhairava we may conclude that this Sāreya Bhairava was one of the Sāntara chieftains ofKārkaḷa. Possibly this was the old family of the Sāntaras, who finding it impossible to retain their power in the struggle for supremacy that was being carried on for a century round their original home migrated westwards and attempted to wrest the power from the Āḷuva rulers".[2]

The above statements are a conglomeration of conjectures. Sāreya Bhairava Nāyaka was not related in any way to the Bhairava chieftains of Kārkaḷa ; he did not attempt to overthrow the Alupa dynasty at this time ; the Sāntara family did not migrate westwards from their "original home" -which in itself is an indefinite phrase- ; and there is nothing to show that the record under discussion can in any way to be taken to

1. *E.* C. VIII. Sb. 180, p. 29. Cf. Elliot, *Carnata-deia Inscriptions,* II, pp. 601-604 cited in Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Du* , p. 594 (2nd ed.) ; Mortes, *Kadamba-Kula,* p. 148, n. (1).

2. Moraes, *ibid,* p. 150.

prove that the Sāntaras intended to wrest political power from the Alupas.

All that the epigraph records is a spirited battle in which the Aluvas under their leader Saṅkeya Nāyaka showed their traditional courage which, as pointed out elsewhere in this treatise, had earned from their opponents the name of *submarine fire the Tuḷuva forces.* The original runs thus:— *Sareya Bhairava Nayakan Ālva migil-agi ranadol- iriyalu.* This has been incorrectly translated by Rice as "when Sāreya Bhairava Nayaka was greatly slaying (?) the Aḷvas in battle.[1] There is nothing in the inscription to show that Sāreya Bhairava Nāyaka was the head of the new dynasty, and that he intended to carve out a new principality for himself. On the other hand, his master was Bīṟeya Deva whose forces the gallant Ajuva Saïikeya Nāyaka slew, although the latter lost his life in the encounter. This Bīṟeya Deva was not a Sāntara but a chieftain of Candāvūru who is mentioned as *one entitled to the band of five chief instruments,* and *an elephant-goad to hostile kings* at the end of a grant recorded in the reign of the Yādava (Seuṇa) king Simhaṇa, and assigned to about A.D. 1215.[2] Whether he is to be identified with Kumāra Blrarasa, about whom we shall presently say a few words, is doubtful. But Candāvūru seems to have given some trouble to the Alupa rulers, as will be pointed out in a later context.

1. In the transliteration Rice adds the following words which are not to be found in the original: *adan antu viram. E. C.* VIII. p. 65.
2. *Ibid,* Sb. 276, p. 48.

Sixteen years later in A.D. 1216, April the 27th Wednesday, another great battle was fought also within the limits of Tuḷuva. The stone inscription which gives us these details was found at Kuppagaḍḍe near the temple of Gaṇapati, Sohrab tāluka, Mysore State. It describes a battle fought near the village of Parige. That the Kadamba Cakravartin Kāva Devarasa took the initiative is evident from the statement that his generals Ke^avadeva, Bommeya and others marched on Baleyamakki and Sode *(...Kavadevarasaru Kesavadeva Bommeya mukhyava;i palarum nayakarum Baleyamakki Sodiya mēle daṇḍam bḷla p̱ḷal...).* These places which are now outside Tuḷuva, the former near Bāḷehonnūr in Koppa taluka, and the latter twelve miles north of Sirsi in the North Kanara district, were then within Tuḷuva. In this battle of Parige, we may incidentlly note, Masaṇa, a servant of Bitteya Hebbāruva, met with a heroic death.[1] The Kāva Deva referred to in this record was no other than the Kadamba Cakravartin Kāva Deva who ruled from A.D. 1219 till A.D. 1231/

Bhujabala KulaSekhara Alupendra I's last date is A.D. 1215. It is possible that the battle of Parige may

1. *Mys, Archl. Rep for 1929,* pp. 148, 268, 269.

2. *Ibid,* p. 148. Rice places a Kadamba Cakravartin Candāvūru Tailapa Deva's son Kava Deva, called Kadamba Rudra, in *circa* A.D. 1000. *E. C.* VIII. Sa. 30, p. 96. Mr. Moraes conjectures that Kāva Deva "probably came to the throne in or about A.D. 1260" ! *Kadamba-Kula,* p. 154. Parige, it may incidentally be added, seems to have been'within the jurisdiction of the Alupas since the days of Citravahana II. It is mentioned in the epigraph which describes his rebellion. *E. C.* VIII. Sb. 10, p. 3, op. cit.

have been fought during the last year of his reign. In any case it is evident from the above that his reign was full of trouble for the Alupa people.

We may observe here the activities of the daughter of a Kadamba king in Tuḷuva. A stone inscription found in the Amṛteśvara temple at Tiruvailu in the Mangalore tāluka, dated Saka 1312 Sukla, Meṣa 1 (which is evidently a mistake for 11), Monday (A.D. 1389 April the 5th Monday),[1] relates that under the Vijayanagara monarch Harihara Mahārāya, Mallarasa was the governor placed over the Maṅgaḷūrurājya. The epigraph records a *sarvamanya* gift of land by Padumala Devi, daughter of Kāma Deva of the Mukkaṇṇa Kadamba-vamsa, to the temple of Amrtanatha Deva at Omafijuru for worship and offerings to the god and for the maintenance of a feeding *satra.* It is interesting to observe that the management of the gift was left in the hereditary charge of three members of the Bhaṭṭitilla family.[2]

Who this Kāma Deva was, cannot be determined. As already mentioned, we have had an Alupa Kāma Deva whose inscription was found in the Durgā ParameSvarl temple at Iruvaila in the Kārkaḷa tāluka.[3] The relationship between the two cannot be made out.

1. Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph.IV.* p. 380. Saka 1311 = Sukla, and Saka 1312 = Piamoda.

2. *465 of 1928-9.* On the Kadamba rulert connected with the legend of Mukkaṇṇa, see *infra* Chapter IV.

3. *477 of 1028-9,* op. cit.

Turning to another Kadamba line, we find the following in an inscription discovered in the temple of Narsimha in North Kanara. It deals with the conquests of Jayakesîn I who is said to have assembled the Kadambas, conquered the Alupas, established the Western Cālukyas in their kingdom, caused the Cālukyas and the Coḷas to become friends at Kañci, and made Gopakapaṭṭaṇa (Goa) his capital. This inscription of the Kadamba king of Goa is dated Kaliyuga 4270 (A.D. 1169-70).[1]

The Kadamba king mentioned here could only have been the Jayakesîn of Koṅkan spoken of by Biihaṇa in his *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* as having brought presents to the Western Cālukya monarch Vikramāditya VI. The Alupa lord in the above record may be identified with Bhujabala KulaSekhara Alupendra Deva I on the following grounds:—

If we are to trust the above inscription which describes the glorious conquests of Jayakesîn I, then, we are to suppose that the subjugation of the lord of the Alupas took place either in A.D. 1169-70 or earlier. Jayakesin I is represented as ruling over Gopakapaṭṭaṇa in A.D. 1070-1.[2] But as a feudatory of the Western Cālukya king SomeSvara I, he figures as lord of the Koṅkan in A.D. 1052-53.

1. *J. Bom. RAS* IX. pp. 262-282; Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts.* pp. 90-91 (1st ed.); 444 (2nd ed.); *Ep. Rept.* for 1925-26, pp. 93-4. Mr. Moraes's remarks that the Alupas were "refractory mahāmaṇḍaleSvaras" about thisMme *(Kadamba-Kula,* p. 183) are groundless. B. A, S.

2. *431 of 1926.*

3. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Du.* p. 90 (Ut ed.); 567 (2nd ed.).

When did JayakeSin conquer the lord of the Alupas ? It is reasonable to suppose that the conquests mentioned in the inscription from North Kanara took place in A.D. 1169-70. Now, according to the Alupa genealogy given above, Bhujabala Kavi Alupendradava I reigned from A.D. 1113 till A.D. 1155. We have seen too that at first he had acknowledged the suzerainty of the Western Calukyas, and that he later on had assumed independence. It may be presumed that he continued to be an independent king till the last year of his reign (A.D. 1155). We cannot place the subjugation of the lord of the Alupas in the reign of Bhujabala Kavi Alupendradeva, since the date A. D. 1169-70 is far removed from the last year of that Alupa ruler. If we accept it, however, it would mean that Bhujabala Kavi Alupendradeva reigned for fifty-seven years (A.D. 1113-A.D. 1170) which is impossible. Hence the only alternative is to suppose that the subjugation of the lord of the Alupas took place in the reign of the next Alupa ruler Bhujabala KulaSekhara Alupendradeva I whose earliest date is A.D. 1176. If this is accepted, Kulaśekhara Alupendradeva I's first regnal year would be A.D. 1170.

A word may be said in regard to this Alupa king. He had to meet with the opposition of the Karnāṭaka and Koṅkan rulers on five different occasions. That he continued to rule for forty years and that he transmitted to his successor Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Alupendradeva I the *sthira-simhdsana* of Barahakanyapura, inspite of all

these dangers, is in itself the best proof of his ability both as a ruler and a soldier.

## 10. THE KAḶACURIYA, THE KAKATlYA, AND THE HOSAGDNDA SCHEMES IN TULUVA

Before we pass on to the topic of Hoysala aggrandizement in Tuḷuva, it may be worth while to see in what manner the Kaḷacuriyas, the Kākatlyas, and the Hosagunda rulers were connected with Tuḷuva.

Of the general Keśimayya, in the reign of the Kaḷacuriya monarch Bijjaḷa, it is said in an epigraph dated A.D. 1157 that he conquered Saṅka Male.[1] We do not know whether the name Saṅka Male can be referred to its namesake in Tuḷuva. The Saṅka Male figures in Tuḷuva folksongs called Pāḍadānas,[2] and it is also the name given to the locality where the Madananteśvara (now rechristened Veṅkaṭaramaṇa) temple of Manjeś-vara stands. How Alupa Jagadevarasa was involved in the conflict between Vīra Sāntara, a feudatory of king

1. Rice, *Mys. Inser.* p. lxxiii, 155. There is a *Dandandyaka* KeSirāja or Keśimayya who is described in A.D. 1147-8 as governor over the Belvoḷa 300, the Palasige 12,00, and the Pānugal 500, under the Western Cālukya Jagadekamalla II. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts.* p. 53. It cannot be made out whether the two Keśirājas were the same. We have here to observe that a Kajacuriya general the *Mahamandalesvara* Bijjaja under the Western Cālukya Taila III, misused the trust reposed in him and was responsible for the downfall of the Western Cālukyas. Fleet, *ibid,* p. 54. It may be that the *Daṇḍandyaka* Keśi-rāja of A.D. 1147-8 went over to the Kaḷacuriya side in the reign af Taila III. B.A.S.

2. *Infra,* Ch. VI. Sec. 6.

Bijjaḷa, and Bīrarasa of Hosagunda in A.D. 1164, has already been described in an earlier context.

The Kākaṭīya king Pratāpa Rudra is said to have subdued Mahārāṣṭra, Kaliṅga, Saurāṣṭra, Gurjara, Varahāṭa, Karnāṭa, Drāviḍa, and Taulaḷ(va). He is represented as the lord of all the above countries. He had an army nine lakhs strong. This is related in a record dated about A.D. 1234.

Pratāpa Rudra's claims for lordship over Tuḷuva as well as over the incredibly large army given above may be dismissed as bombast. The record which gives us the above details is an epigraph of doubtful authenticity. It must be admitted that the Alupa records are silent for nearly forty years till the accession of Vira Pāṇḍyadeva Alupendradeva I. But that is no justification for admitting the claims of Pratāpa Rudra of having subdued Tuḷuva. All that may be said on behalf of the Kākaṭīya ruler is that the inscription merely echoes the glory of his general Proḷarāja who is credited with the capture of the Western Cālukya king Taila III.*

With the Hosgunda rulers, however, Tuḷuva had more intimate relations. The Hosagunda chieftains were of the Sāntara stock with their chief town first at Kallise, and then at Hosagunda which they made their *rājadhāni*. We have already discussed the importance of the Siddhesvara temple *viragal* which describes the

1. *E. C.* X I I . Tm. 14, p. 5. The original of this inscription is not forthcoming. *Ibid*, p. 5. n. (1).
2. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Du. p.* 54.

aid Alupa Jagadevarasa gave his ally VIra Sāntaradeva in A.D. 1164 against Birarasa of Hosagunda. In A.D. 1229 on the death *(atiṭam appa)* of Kumāra Bammarasa, Kumāra Bīrarasa is said to have ruled the Sāntalige Thousand in peace and wisdom. The following are some of the *birndas* given to him:—*satya-Ratnakara saranagata-vajra-panjara s' ri-Billesvara-devara dibya-'srl-pada-padma-aradhakarum appa.*[1] These *birudas,* among others, are given to Kumāra Birarasa in an inscription which Rice has assigned to about A.D. 1221. That the date assigned to it is inadmissible will be evident from the following considerations:— In this later inscription we have an extra *biruda* pertaining to Tuluva which is not met with in the preceding record, *viz.* that Kumāra Birarasa was a "Shaker of the Tulu Raya *(Tulu-Rāya gaṁpaṇācārya).*[2] Evidently the second inscription has to be referred to a later age ( *circa* A.D. 1248), when Kumāra Bīrarasa had interfered in Tuluva affairs-

One of the *birudas—'sri-Billebvara devara dibya-'srl-ṗsda-padmarādhakarum appa*—is, however, applied to a Bīradevarasa in A.D. 1254 ( January the 29th ), when he marched with full military equipment ( *sakala samagra sahitam)* against Idu Sāvanta of Bidirūru, and plundered all his valuables. Dr. Krishna has identified Bidirūru mentioned here with Bendore or Nagar of later history.[3] But Bidiruru is the name of Mudubidre in

1. E.C. VIII. Sa. 146, pp. 121. 326.
2. *Ibid,* Nr, S. p. 127.
3. *My. Archl. Rept.* for 1929, pp. 146-8, 274.

Tuḷuva, near where there is still a prominent household called the *Idu-bldu.* But we are unable to say in what manner Bīrarasa was connected with Kumāra Bīrarasa.

In A.D. 1255 Kumāra Birarasa had one of the *birudas* given above slightly modified. He is called this year "Promoter of the Tulu kingdom *(Tulu Rajya samuddharaṇam)."*[1] As yet no mention is made of the capital *(rajadhani),* although the *nelevidu* has been mentioned, as will be related presently.

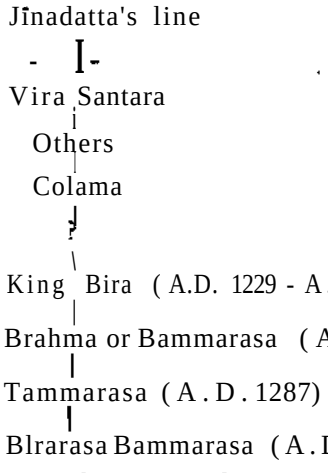
It is only in A.D. 1275 that Bammarasa Deva, who was evidently the son of Bīrarasa, is called *the establisher of the Tuḷu Rāya (Tuḷu Rāya pratiṣṭāpanācdrya), boon lord of Paṭṭi Pombucchapura, master of the western ocean,* and is stated to have been in the capital *(rājadhāni)* of Hosagunda.[2]

The genealogy of these Sāntaras of Hosagunda is given in a later record dated A.D. 1287 which continues to prefix the same *biruda (Tulu Raya-sthapanacarya)* to the next chieftain Tammarasa.[3]

Tammarasa's son was Birarasa, who is mentioned in a record dated 1294 of the reign of the Yādava ruler Rāmacandra. Bīrarasa Bommarasa is also called *Tuḷu Rāya pratiṣṭhāpanācārya* in this record.[4]

1. *E.C.* VIII. Sa. 150, text pp. 121,328.
2. *Ibid,* Sa. 134, p. 119.
3. *Ibid,* V I I . Sk. 312, pp. 153, 352.
4. *Ibid,* VIII. Sb. 502, p. 84. Dr. Krishna discusses a damaged *vipagal* found at Nadakalasi describing the death of Birarasa Bammarasa and of Soyi Ballahadeva, the latter being the son of Isvara Deva

The genealogical descent of the Hosagunda rulers as gathered from the above inscriptions is as follows :




We do not know what precisely were the circumstances which secured for Hosagunda chieftains the *biruda Tulu raya pratisihapanacarya.* There is no evidence to prove that it refers to the Alupas. It is true that there is a gap in the Alupa history between A.D. 1215 and A.D. 1254 when Blrarasa of Hosagunda administered his chiefship. But the reference seems to be to the activities of the Santaras of Hosagunda

**of the Sinda family. The *viragal* contains only the cyclic year Kilaka. Dr. Krishna has assigned this *viragal* to A.D. 1188-9 ( *My. Ar chi. Rep.* for 1930, p. 217 ) on the strength of another record noticed by Rice in the E. C VIII. Sh. 276, p. 47, and assigned by him to *circa* A.D. 1180. But since we know that Birarasa Bammarasa's date is A.D. 1294, the above *viragal* has to be placed in about A.D. 1308, and the supplementary grant edited by Rice to the middle of the 13th century A.D. *(circa* A.D. 1294). B. A. S.**

round the principality of Setu or Setuvinabīḍu (south-west of Sāgara), where they set up one of their own as a chief or helped one of their allies to secure a footing. Our surmise is proved by the activities of the first prominent Hosagunda ruler Bīrarasa. In a record dated A.D. 1248 he is given most of the titles mentioned above but not that referring to Tuḷu, thus showing beyond doubt that Bīrarasa did not come into contact with Tuḷuva till A.D.1248. The interest of the epigraph lies in the fact that it gives Bīrarasa's residence *(nelevlḍu)* at Kallise. This shows that the Sāntara chiefs had not yet made Hosagunda their *rājadhāni.* The record relates that when "Bīrarasa went to Setu, and captured Malisāle, Mudiga son of Mandasāle Bīroja's son Baṅkoja and Bāgiyabbe, broke down both Setu and Kaṭāra", but died in the attempt.[1]

In the reign of the next Hosagunda chieftain, too, Setu was attacked. We prove this from a much-damaged inscription assigned to A.D. 1275 which informs us that Bellarasa Bammarasa\s son Kājarasa "... Hearing that report the *Mahāmaṇḍlesvara* Ketarasa joined the Tuḷu camp *[Tulμ kaṭakavam),* and running about in the temple of Setu, was fighting, when Kājarasa, entering with his whole army, and attacking the men who were on foot, stopped them, knocked them down", but died nobly in the fight.' If the Tuḷu camp is thus associated with

1. *E. C.* VIII. Sa. 129, p. 118.

2. *Ibid,* Nr. 26, p. 131. Kājarasa was a Kundanitf and Koḍanatf chief mentioned in A.D. 1218. *Ibid,* Sa. 15, p. 94.

the temple of Setu, it may reasonably be assumed that Setu was within the influence of the Alupa rulers whose direct dealings with the Hosagunda chieftains are unfortunately not discernible in the epigraphs.[1]

## 11. THE HOYSALAS AND THE ALUPAS

The Alupas, who had managed to preserve their integrity even under the Western Cālukyas, suffered great hardships, especially in the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D., when one of the most famous of Karnāṭaka sovereigns sweept over the land in a series of brilliant campaigns. Yet when the Hoysalas were but a rising family, struggling against the designs of an unknown enemy, they seem to have found a home in Tuḷuva. This accounts for the tradition according to which Vinayāditya Tribhuvanamalla Poysala Deva, whose earliest date is A.D.1047, retired to Tuḷuva for some unknown reasons.[2] If this tradition is accepted, the event may be said to have happened before Bankideva Alupendradeva Fs accession to the throne.

That the Alupas continued unmolested in the reign of Vinayāditya Deva's eldest son and successor Ballāja Deva I is proved by an inscription dated A.D. 1101, and again by another record of A.D. 1104, both of which narrate that the boundaries of the Hoysala kingdom were

1. On Setu, read, *E.* C. VII. HI. 54 dated A.D 1254, p. 171, where Babbara Bāba figures ; *E. C.* VIII. Intr. p. 11 ; Nr. 9, 11, 12, 19 ranging from A.D. 1278 to 1320, pp. 127-129.

2. Wilson, *Mack. Coll.* I. p. cix ; Rice, *Mys. Gaz.* I I . p. 207 (Uted.).

the same as those under Vinayāditya Deva, *viz.*, Aḷvakheḍa, Bayalnāḍ, Talakāḍ, and Sāvimale.[1]

But the good relations which existed between the Alupas and the Hoysalas till the days of Ballāḷa Deva I were disturbed by an incident which we have already mentionee in an earlier context. This is the attack which the Sāntara chief Jagadeva made on Dorasamudra and his subsequent defeat and retreat. Jagadeva was repulsed by all the brothers—Ballāḷa Deva I, Biṭṭi Deva, the future Viṣṇuvardhana, and Udayādityarasa.[3] The Sāntara chief, who had dared thus to attack the Hoysala capital, had gone to Tuḷuva, given one of his near relatives in marriage to the Alupa king Bhujabala Kavi Alupendradeva I, and had founded a principality at Setu probably with the aid of the Alupa king.

There was another cause of enmity between the Hoysalas and the Alupas. The latter had always sided with the Western Cālukya feudatory (the Santara chief mentioned above) in Tuḷuva. The Hoysalas, who had acknowledge the suzerainty of the Western Cālukyas till the days of Viṣṇuvardhana Deva, had shaken it off under him.[3] The subversion of the Alupas, who had been on

1. *E. C.* V. Intr. p. xii; Bl. 199, p. 108 ; *E.C.* VI. Cm. 160, p. 56. An undated inscription records a grant by Boppa Deva, the general of Visṇuvardhana Hoysala Deva. It narrates that Viṣṇuvardhana's father Tribhuvanamalla Gahga reigned over the whole territory bounded by Konkan, Alvakheda, Bayalnad, and Savimale, punishing the wicked and protecting the good. *My. Arch. Rept.for 1925*, p. 40. This does not refer to Visṇuvardhana's father Ereyanga, who never had the title of Tribhuvanamalla Gaṅga, but to Vinayāditya, B. A. S.

2. Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.* p. 99 ; Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts.* p. 66.

3. Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.* p. 96.

friendly terms with the Western Cālukyas for quite a longtime, was but one step in the imperial scheme of the Hoysalas.

Add to these there was another grave reason why the Hoysalas turned their mind towards the Ālupas. The people of Ajvakheḍa caused havoc in territories within the jurisdiction of the Hoysalas. This is gathered from a record dated A.D. 1114 which informs us that when Viṣṇuvardhana Deva was ruling the Gaṅgavāḍi Ninety-Six Thousand, and ..... Seṭṭi Gāvuṇḍa was holding the office of *gāvuṇḍa* in Kariviḍi Hirūr, the Ājvakheḍa people took prisoners in the Thousand (the name of which is not specified). At this Seṭṭi Gāvuṇḍa fought with the people of Ajvakheḍa with daggers in front of Jayisihgāḍu. He recovered the cows by the might of his arm, fought the Alupa peoplewho had commited the cattle raid, but died in the attempt.[1] This cattle raid must have precipitated the Hoysala advance into Tujuva.

Finally, there was the fact that the Hoysala themselves were of an inferior stock. They were essentially of Malepa origin,[2] while the Alupas were a family of considerable antiquity. It was but natural that the new dynasty should have evinced a desire to subvert a more ancient family, especially when the latter were hindering their expansion in the south-west of the Karnāṭaka.

1. *E. C.* XII. **Tp. 81, p. 59.**
2. **Saletore,** ***The Wild Tribes,*** **p. 79 seq.**

Viṣṇuvardhana took the initiative. He first turned his attention to the Śāmara chief Jagadeva, and then to the Ālupa king who had given shelter to the Śāntara enemy. The subversion of the Alupa kingdom was such an important political achievement that it was remembered with pride for ninety-four years (A.D. 1117 till A.D. 1208). Indeed, for over three generations very few accounts of the military prowess of Viṣṇuvardhana Deva were emboided in epigraphs without mention being made of the conquest of Tuḷuva.

The subjugation of the Śāntara chief Jagadeva, therefore, was but the prelude to the Hoysala scheme of aggrandizement in Tuḷuva. The following will prove that Viṣṇuvardhana Deva first broke Jagadeva and then turned his attention to the latter's ally and relative the Alupa king Bhujabala Kavi Alupendradeva. At first only the subjugation of the Sāntara chief is mentioned in epigraphs. But in a particular year the Tuḷu kings are said to have been subdued. And in the inscriptions of the succeeding years, the whole of the Tuḷu country is described to have been conquered by Viṣṇuvardhana Deva.

The fact that Viṣṇuvardhana broke the power of the Sāntara chief Jagadeva is proved by a copper-plate inscription dated A.D. 1117 which describes, among other military achievements of the great Hoysala soldier, the following:— that he was a Bhairava in destroying the armies of Jagadeva *(Jagat-deva bala viḷaya Bhairavanum).* The statement which precedes this, *viz.*, that

Viṣṇuvardhana Deva was an adept at the game of war in overthrowing the Tuḷu kings *(Tuḷu nṛpāḷa hṛdaya vidaḷana prakata raṇa kaḷiyum)* is to be understood in the sense that the above-mentioned chief Jagadeva was assisted by the Tuḷu (i.e., Alupa ) king, who must have already strengthened his Sāntara alliance prior to the event in question. Only in this way can we understand the term "armies" of Jagadeva referred to in the record.[1]

There is another consideration which justifies our assumption relating to the overthrow of the Tuḷu kings and to the armies of Jagadeva given above* This can be best understood by discussing the date of the subjugation of Jagadeva by Viṣṇuvardhana Deva. We place this event after A.D. 1117 according to the following considerations.

Vīra Jagadeva's attack on Dorasumdra took place in A.D. 1104. The Alupa people committed havoc in the Hoysala territory in A.D. 1114 when the Sāntara chief had visited Bārakūru and given a grant of land to a temple in that city. That Viṣṇuvardhana Deva could not have undertaken the subjugation of Jagadeva till A.D. 1116 is clear from the trend of events in the Hoysala capital. There that ruler, who seems to have ascended the throne in about A.D. 1104, was being con-

1. *My. Ins.* p. 263. Rice correctly states in his *Intr.* that Visnuvardhana subdued the Kadamba king Jayakesin, and then Jagadeva who is described in his record, as ruling in Tuḷuva. *Intr.* p. lxxvii. By Tuḷuva is here meant the territory round Setu. B. A. S.

verted from Jainism into Vaiṣṇavism under the influence of the great reformer Rāmānujācārya. Indeed, it was only in A.D. 1116, as Rice rightly remarks, that Viṣṇuvardhana Deva entered on a series of brilliant campaigns beginning with the conquest of Talakāḍ (A.D. 1116).[1]

It was in the year A.D. 1117 that Viṣṇuvardhana Deva overcame the Sāntara chief Jagadeva, for in the list of the conquests of his great general Puṇisa, who had conquered the Nilādri and Maleyāḷa, as given in a record dated A.D. 1117, no mention is made of Tuḷuva.[3] Yet we presume that it was in the same year that the Hoysala monarch overthrew Jagadeva and his ally the Alupa ruler. For in a record dated in that year (A.D. 1117) the glory of the Hoysala monarch is sung, and it is related that bursting the heart of the Tuḷu kings in the game of war, he swept over other regions in a career of conquests.[3]

Now[r], when was the subjugation of the Alupa king BhujabalaKavi Alupendradeva effected, and who was the Hoysala general who is credited with the conquest of the Tuju country ? Since Jagadeva's subjugation is to be placed in A.D. 1117, we have to presume that the overthrow of the Alupa ruler followed in the same year or immediately afterwards. That Viṣṇuvardhana Deva subdued that Alupa ruler will be proved from a later

1. Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.* p. 99.
2. *E.* C. IV. Ch. 83, p. 10.
3. *Ibid,* V. Bl. 58, pp. 56-57. Cf. *My. Ins.,* p. 263, op. **cit.**

record dated A.D. 1162 of the times of Narasimha Devaf I which describes graphically the conquests of his great father. We believe that the subjugation of the Alupa ruler was effected between the year A.D. 1117 and A.D. 1120 on the strength of the epigraphs which mention the conquests of the Tuḷu country by Viṣṇuvardhana Deva. Thus, an inscription dated about A.D. 1120 informs us that that Hoysala monarch "took by the might of his arm the Tuḷu country". In the same inscription he is styled "a submarine fire to the ocean the Tuḷuva forces".[1] Another inscription assigned to about A.D. 1125 relates that Viṣṇuvardhana Deva took the Tuḷu country ( *Tuḍesam* ) among other countries.[2] In A.D. 1131 the Hoysala monarch is called "a dragger along of the Tuḷuvas."* An epigraph dated A.D. 1133 informs us that he brought into subjection the whole of the Male and the whole of the Tuḷu country.[4] In a record of the next year (A.D. 1134) he is called "The capturer with a frown of the Tuḷu country/'[5]

Inspite of the statements made in some of the above inscriptions that the great Hoysala monarch had captured the whole of the Tuḷu country, it is permissible to assume that he did not annihilate the Alupa power. This is attested to by the following considerations:—

1. *B.C.* XI. **Tp. 58, p. 54**
2. *Ibid,* **IV. Ng. 28, p. 117.**
3. *Ibid,* **I I . No. 53, p. 131 (1st ed.).**
4. *Ibid,X.* **Bl. 124, p. 81.**
5. *Ibid,* **X I I . Gb. 34, p. 24.**

Firstly, in some of the inscriptions of Viṣṇuvardhana Deva himself, Tuḷuva is not included in the list of the conquests made by that monarch.

Secondly, one inscription specifically states that he captured only as far as Bārakūru, while the others give the Bārakanūru Ghat ( i.e., Bārakūru itself) as the western boundry of his empire.

And, thirdly, the inscriptions of his son and successor Narasimha Deva I speak of Aḷvakheḍa as the western boundry of the Hoysala empire. Moreover, a Hoysala general had to be sent again to check the growth of the Alupas in the reign of that same monarch.

In one record dated about A.D. 1120, and in others dated A.D. 1135, A.D. 1139 and A.D. 1141, Tuḷuva is not included in the list of countries conquered by Viṣṇuvardhana Deva. These epigraphs belong to his reign, and their evidence, therefore, cannot be doubted.[1] Even in a later record dated A.D. 1160, which recounts all his conquests, no mention is made of Viṣṇuvardhana Deva's having conquered Tuḷuva.[2] We may cite here a later record dated A.D. 1170 of the reign of Narasimha Deva I which does not add Tuḷuva in the list of Viṣṇuvardhana Deva's conquests.[3] The statement made in another epigraph of the same Hoysala ruler Narasiṃha Deva to the effect that Aḷva sank down before Viṣṇuvardhana Deva, as will be mentioned presently, only serves to

1. *E.C.* **III. Sr.43, p. 15; III. No. 56, p. 143, No. 144, p.n87 (1st ed.);** VI. **Kp. 80, p. 15. Kd. 96, p. 17.**
2. *Ibid,* **VI. Kd. 67, pp. 12-13.**
3. *Ibid,* **Kd. 30, p. 6.**

strengthen our assumption concerning the integrity of the Alupa kingdom.

Two records which also belong to Viṣṇuvardhana Deva's reign, dated A.D. 1129 and A.D. 1140 respectively, inform us that the Bārakanūru Ghat was the western boundry of the Hoysala empire.[1] An inscription dated A.D. 1141, which was the last year of Viṣṇuvardhana Deva, clearly tells us that the strong-armed Hoysala Deva (i. e., Visnuvardhana) conquered (only) as far as Bārakanūru on the west ( *[paḍuva] lu Bārakanūru muṭṭe* ).'

The name of the general who brought Tuḷuva under the Hoysala power is now to be found out. It is not disclosed in any of the inscriptions of Viṣṇuvardhana Deva himself. But an inscription of Ballāja Deva II dated A.D. 1183 informs us that Boppa Daṇḍādhipati having brought the Malenāḍ, the Tuḷunāḍ, the beautiful Coḷamaṇḍala, and the territory up to the Peddore as the northern boundry into subjection to the king Viṣṇu, acquired the name of *drōharagharaṭṭa* (A Grind stone to Traitors), because of the might of his arms with which he slew those who attacked him in the battle.[3]

That Ajvakheḍa remained in tact inspite of the glorious military achievements of the Hoysala monarch

1. *E.* C. Mg. 22, p. 62, Kd. 79, p. 15.
2. *Ibid,* V I. Kd. 102, p. 19.
3. *Ibid,* V. Bl. 137, p. 91. An inscription dated A.D. 1136 (of the times of Narasirhha Deva ?) relates that Ballaja Camupa (also called Balju and Vallu) caused the Cola country to tremble, and took tribute from Tujuvalapura. *E.* C. V I. Kd. 35, p. 7. Tuḷuvalapura does not refer to Tujuva here, B. A. S.

and his able general is proved by the inscriptions of the ruler who succeeded Viṣṇuvardhana Deva, and by the fact that another Hoysala general was sent against the Alupas in A.D. 1155. One of the boundries of the kingdom of Narasiṁha Deva, as given in an inscription dated A.D. 1143, was Ālvakheḍa in the west.[1] The reason why Narasiṁha Deva sent one of his generals against the Tuḷuva ruler is to be found in the repeated attempts which the Alupa king Bhujabala Kavi Alupendradeva I made to assert his independence. An inscription dated A.D. 1155 relates that Cokimayya, also called Bokimayya and Bokaṇa, who was the great minister and general, and senior master of the robes, brought into subjection the Tuḷu country. Bokaṇa was like a mirror to the goddess of victory in all the earth.[3] The recrudescence of the Alupa danger in the reign of Narasiṁha Deva I and the consequent succeess which his great general won over the Alupas was perhaps the reason why in about A.D. 1160, and again A.D. 1163, that Hoysala ruler is called "a submarine fire to the ocean the Tujuva forces". [3]

We may cite here a few instances of the popularity of the conquest of Tuḷuva by Viṣṇuvardhana Deva in the reign of his son Narasiṁha Deva I. An inscription dated A.D. 1160 narrates that "the door of the Ghats was closed" by king Viṣṇu.[4] The reference here is

1. *E. C.* V. Ak. 55, p. 130.
2. M Hn.69, p. 21.
3. *Ibid,* I I . No. 137 (a), p. 181, (1st ed.) ; X I I , Tp, 66, p. 56.
4. *Ibid,* I I . No. 138, p. 183, (lit ed.).

obviously to the extension of the Hoysala arms to the Bārakanūru Ghat. The valiant Viṣṇuvardhana Deva took with a frown *(bhṛkuṭibhaṅgadim)* the Tuḷu country along with Cakragoṭṭa and other centres. So is related in another record of Narasiṁha Deva dated A.D. 1162.[1]

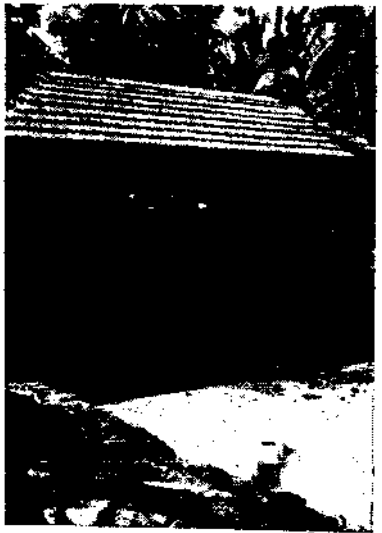
The same inscription graphically describes the conquests of Viṣṇuvardhana Deva and proves our assertion that he had only vanquished the Alupa ruler. It describes how when he sounded the war drums, Cera's chest split open like a door broken into two, Andhra's stoutness was reduced by the beating of himself, and Aḷva sank ( *Ceram-ede-havane pāridud Āndhran ubbegam baḍutave kandidam kusidan Āḷvaran ālisi poyva bhēriyam).*[3] This epigraph conclusively show's that the Alupa king was neither killed nor driven to the forest, but that he merely submitted to the Hoysala monarch.

Another inscription dated A.D. 1162 speaks of Nṛpa Kāma Hoysala's son capturing Tujunāḍu. As Rice has shown, the reference here is to Viṣṇuvardhnana Deva himself.[3]

It is interesting to observe herė that the memory of Narasiṁha Deva was perpetuated in Tuḷuva by the construction of a well know'n fort and town. This was the famous Jamālābād fort (twenty miles east of Mangalore ) of the eighteenth century. Concerning its eaHy history Buchanan noted the following:— That

1-2. *E.* C. IV. Hs. 137, p. 96, text p. 270.
3. *Ibid,* V. Intr. pp. x-xi; Ak. 142, p. 176.

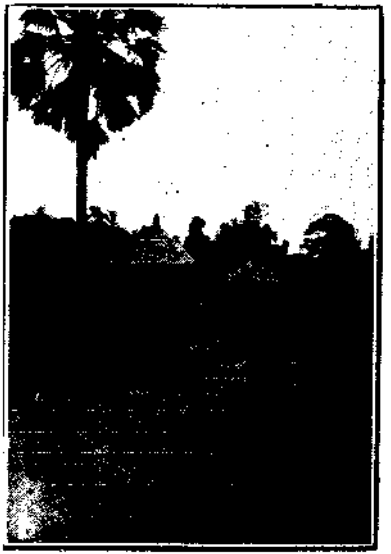
P. 279



**The Būḍu of the Eḍambūru Ballāḷa**

Photo by B. A. S.] [Copyright

P. 565



**The graves of Kōṭi and Cennaya at Eḍambūru**

Photo by B. A. S.] [Copyright

according to the tradition of locality (at Jamālābād), a Brahman named Narasinga Rāya, the founder of a dynasty which governed the whole of Tuḷuva immediately after that of Mayūravarmā became extinct, built a town on the banks of the river here, and called it Narasinga Angaḍi after his own name. Towards the foot of the rock, at present occupied by the fortress, he erected a citadel and this was the residence of the family of which Buchanan found no traces in any other place.[1]

Narasirhha Deva's son by Mahā Devī was Ballāḷa Deva I I , who proved to be a second Viṣṇuvardhana. Even in the reign ol his father, Ballāḷa, then known by the name Baḷḷu, is credited with a victory over Tuḷuva. The inscription records that Tuḷuva losing his power ran away *(Tuḷuvam aḷavigett-oḍidan).* In the same epigraph the title "submarine fire to the Tuḷuva army" is given to Ballāḷa.[3] In A.D. 1173 the inscriptions merely repeat the great deeds of Viṣṇuvardhana Deva concerning Tuḷuva, and have nothing to say concerning Ballāḷa Deva's relations with that province.[5] Then, again, in A.D. 1174, the same is repeated but this record adds that when Ballāḷa mounted his horse for his expedition of victory, Tuḷuva losing his confidence ran away,

1. Buchanan, *A Journey,* I I I . p. 68. Later tradition evidently made the Hoysala Narasimha a Brahman. But the Hoysaḷas were never Brahmans. For a description of the fort at Jamalabad, read Sturrock, *S.* C. *Manual,* I. p. 79, n. (12). B. A. S.
2. *E.* C I V . Ng. 30, pp. 119, 339.
3. I*bid,* V I . K d . 4 , p. 2 ; K d . 136, p. 26.
4. *Ibid,* V. Ak. 138, p. 173.

But in the list of conquests given in the next year (A.D. 1175) no mention is made of Tuḷuva.[1] Viṣṇuvardhana Deva's prowess relating to Tuḷuva is sung in A.D. 1178, A.D. 1179, and in about A.D. 1180.'

Notwithstanding the few notices relating to Ballāḷa Deva's campaign against Tuḷuva, we may presume that he left Aḷvakheḍa intact under the Alupa ruler Bhujabala Kulasekhara Alupendradeva I. It is true that in a record assigned to *circa* A.D. 1178 Ballāḷa Deva is said to have covered up with smoke Pānugal and the mountainous Aḷvakheḍa.[3] And again in A.D. 1182 he is called by the phrase "submarine fire to the ocean Tuḷuva."* But the fact of Bārakanūru having been the western boundary of Ballāḷa Deva's empire on the west, as recorded in an epigraph dated A.D. 1178, and confirmed by another inscription of A.D. 1184,[5] clearly demonstrates that the Alupas continued undistributed in their kingdom. It is possible that at the end of Hoysala campaign about which we do not know anything for the

1. *E.C* III. My. 8. p. 1.

2. *Ibid,* IV. Ng. 70, p. 130; Ng. 15, p. 115; VII. Sh. 40, p. 18. This last epigraph dated in about A.D. 1180, deserves a passing note. When Rice at first included Tuḷuva-Rājendrapuram among the conquests of Visṇuvardhana Deva, he assigned the inscription to about A.D. 1160 E. C. III. Sr. 74, p. 25. But another version of the same fact clearly says that Tujuva and Rājendrapuram were captured. This inscription is assigned to about A.D. 1180. *E. C.* VII. Sh. 40, p. 18. B. A. S.

3. *Ibid,* V. Cn. 220, p. 220.

4. *Ibid,* II. No. 124, p. 174. (1st ed.).

5. *Ibid,* VI. Cm. 21-22, p. 37-8; *ibid,* IV. Ng. 32, p. 120. This latter record deals with Vinayāditya Hoysala, and sings also Visnuvardhana Deva's praise.

present, the Alupa ruler was merely made to pay tribute to the Hoysala monarch. The records of the reign of Ballāḷa Deva II ranging from A.D. 1190 to A.D. 1208 ascribe to him the honour given to him in A.D.1164, *viz.;* that on his mounting his horse for war, Tuḷuva, disgracing his power, ran away *(Tulavan alavigett odidan)* and repeat the eulogy bestowed on Viṣṇuvardhana Deva when the latter had subdued Tuḷuva.[1] Tuḷuva is not mentioned in the list of conquests given in epigraphs dated A.D. 1193 and in about A.D. 1194.[2]

In the same year (A.D. 1194), however, the Alupas caused a disturbance in the Hoysala territory. The inscription which describes this informs us that "along with Aḷuva Nayaka, putting a stop to the riot, Jatanayya son of Jakka Gauḍa, son of Eca Gauḍa of Beratiyakeṛe, fought in Musuvana-kaṭṭa" and died.[3] The result of this raid is unknown. But in A.D. 11% the traditional *biruda* "a submarine fire to the ocean the Tuḷuva army" is given to Ballāḷa Deva II.[4]

A further proof of the existence of the Alupas as a poweer in the reign of the next Hoysala king Narasimha Deva II is given in a record of A.D. 1278 which makes Aḷvakheḍa the western boundary of the Hoysala empire.[5]

1. *E.C.* IV. Ng. 93, p. 137; VI. Kd. 77, p. 14; XII. Tp. 128, p. 67. VI. Kd. 117. p. 21.
2. *Ibid,* VII. Sk. 105, p. 77, III. Sr. 44, p. 10. The latter is dated by Rice in A.D. 1195. In view of the troubles in A.D. 1194 or thereabouts, it may not be wrong to date it in that year. B. A. S.
3. *Ibid,* VI. Kd. 81, p. 15.
4. *Ibid,* II. No. 130, p. 177. (1st ed.).
5. *Ibid,* V. Cn. 204, p. 213.

A critical stage in the history of the Alupas is reached with the accession of the last great Hoysala monarch, Vira Ballāḷa Deva III. Seven stone inscriptions oi this monarch and of his chief queen have been found in Tuḷuva itself, while four more concerning his dealings with this province have been found on the Ghats. Before we proceed to deal with these eleven epigraphs, we may observe that Vira Ballāḷa Deva Ill's interference in Tuḷuva affairs was not altogether unjustifiable. The Hosagunda rulers, as we have already described above, were playing the part of king-makers ; and they were the feudatories of the Yādavas (Seuṇas) who were the traditional enemies of the Hoysalas. The Yādava advance to the south could be checked only when their powerful feudatories, the Hosagunda chieftains, were thwarted in their designs. And this could be successfully done by controlling the affairs in Tuḷuva and establishing the Hoysala authority in that province on a firm basis. This explains the gradual disappearance of the Alupas and the absorption of their principalitty first in the Hoysala empire, and then, in that of their successors, the Vijayanagara monarchs.

The seven stone inscriptions found in Tuḷuva proper, dealing with Vira Ballāḷa Deva III, are the following:— the Mūḍubidre Guru *basti* stone inscription ; the KāntesVara temple stone inscription, both in the Karkala taluka; two stone inscriptions found in the Mahisasuramardhini temple at Nilavara in the Udipi taluka ; the Somesvara temple stone inscription dis-

.covered at Mūḍukēṟi in Bārakūru ; the stone epigraph found in Bailūru in the Uḍipi tāluka : and the Gubbukoṇe Gopālakṛṣṇa temple stone inscription found at Kanyāṇa, Kundāpūru tāluka.

Of these the Mūḍubidre Guru *basti* stone inscription is important from the Hoysala point of view. For in this record the future Vīra Ballāḷa Deva is associated with the town of Mūḍubidre. The inscription narrates, among other things, that Srī Vīra Ballāḷa Deva was ruling the kingdom of the world *(S'rl-Vira Ballāḷa Deva-rugaḷu pṛthuvi-rajyam-geyyutt-irdda).* He is mentioned as the son of Srī Vīra Narasirhha Adhīndra Deva ( Narasiṁha Deva III ), who is given the following *birudas-'sri-Maṁjunatha-devara dibya-'srl-psda-padma-ārādhakaram para-baḷa-sādhakarum appa 'srimat Paṇḍya-cakravartin Basava S'ankara raya-gajaṁku'sa huli-raya gaṇḍa-bheruṇḍa 'srimat pratapa-cakravarti Hoyisaṇa irl-Vira Narasimhadīndra**

We may observe here that of these titles *Pāṇḍya cakravartin* is the same *biruda* which Bankideva Alupendradeva had assumed in A.D. 1302, while *Paṇḍya-cakravartin arirāya-Basava-S'ankara* had been borne by Soyideva Alupendradeva in A.D. 1315, and again in A.D. 1324. Gopīśvara Rāya had borne the *biruda* of *arīraya-Basava-S'ankara* in A.D. 1332, while Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva in A.D. 1346 had also the same *biruda* in addition to his other *birudas Pāṇḍya-cakravartin arirayā gajaṁku'sa.* The *biruda Pāṇḍya-cakravartin* alone may be said to have been the legitimate title of the Alupas. As to how the titles *arirāya-Basava-S'ankara* and *arirāya-Gajaṁku'sa* came to

be assumed by them, and how these two titles came to be borne by the Hoysala prince Ballāḷa cannot be made out for the present.

The Mūḍubidre stone inscription is dated only in the cyclic year Vis(ś)u and the 15th Thursday. The cyclic year Vṛsa agrees with Saka 1203. and the date corresponds to Thursday the 9th January A.D. 1281.[X]

Since Vīra Ballāḷa is represented as ruling the kingdom of the world, and since the record was found at Mūḍubidre, it may reasonably be inferred that prince Ballāḷa in A.D. 1281 was placed by his father Vīra Narasiṁha Deva III as viceroy over Tujuva with his headquarters at Mūḍubidre. Ten years before Vīra Ballāḷa Deva came to the throne, therefore, he had seen State service in Tujuva.

The Mūḍubidre record gives us the following information :—Hariyapa Daṇṇāyaka, the brother-in-law ofDevapa Daṇṇākaya Mādaḍharu, son of Hosabaḍaharu, *Adhikāri* Deva Aḷuva, Salikeyara, Ballāḷas, eight respectable Seṭṭis (or heads of the commercial guilds) of Mūḍubidre, and others, having decided among themselves *(tammoḷekastar āgi),* caused a decree to be signed which we have already noticed in the previous pages of this treatise.[2]

1. Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.* IV. p. 164.

2. *43 of* 7007, *S. I.* J., VII. No. 213, pp. 108-9, op. cit. *Supra* Ch. III. Sec. 10, C. Dr. Venkata Ramanayya asserts that Vira Batlāja KI in A.D. 1297 conquered "one of the numerous Ajupa Chiefs that were ruling on the west coast" about this time. *Vijayanagara-The Origin of the City and the Empire,* p. 67, and *ibid,* n. (1). (Madraa, 1933). The reference given is to *E.* C. IV. Ng. 95 and *Myi. Arch.*

Here we have to relate the events which happened in A.D. 1300 and after, since they will explain Vīra Ballāḷa Deva's attitude towards Tuḷuva. A stone inscription found at Baradavaḷi, Sāgar taluka, and dated A.D. 1300, narrates that Vīra Ballāḷa Deva having taken Hosagunda, captured Kōṭi Nāyaka and carried off his elephant, marched in the next year against Gangeya Sahani, and encamped at Sirsi. He then plundered Kaḍabalalu. This seems to have led to a coalition of the Kadamba Cakravartin (Kāva Deva ?) and the Caḷukya Cakravartin, whose praise is given. Jagadalāḷa Gangeya Sāhaṇi, the great minister of Kāva Deva, however, sent for the "brave lion" Madi Gauḍa, who pierced the horse of the enemy, destroyed them and "broke Ballāḷa Deva's army" but died in the encounter.[1] Vīra Ballāḷa Deva, therefore, failed in this attempt to crush the Hosagynda rulers, who were the traditional enemies of the Hoysalas.

He made another attempt in A.D. 1303 to subvert them. In that year he is represented as marching with his whole army and encamping at Banavase. This time, too, he took the field against "the world-renowned Gangeya Sāhaṇi". The inscription discovered at

*Rept.* for 1918, p. 47. But the former reference is wrong, for Ng. 95 is an undated inscription assigned by Rice to *circa* A.D. 1142. It records merely the construction of a Jinālaya by a citizen. *E. C.* IV. p. 138. There were never "numerous Aḷupa Chiefs" on the western coast. Evidently Dr. Ramanayya confounds the Alupas of Tujuui with the "numerous" chiefs who bore a similar name but on the Western Ghats ! B. A. S.

1. *E.* C. VIII. Sa. 45, p. 98.

Rāvaṇakān, Sāgar tāluka, records the battle of Sirise (Sirsi) in the Kadambalaligenad, and the heroic deeds of Rāṇavagga Bīra. Vira Ballāḷa Deva evidently was successful in this encounter.[1]

The two campaigns at Sirśi had grave effects on the history of Tuḷuva. Sirśi in those ages belonged to Tuḷuva. That the Tuḷuvas were in some way implicated in the affairs that led to the two encounters at Sirsi there cannot be any doubt. Indeed, the following epigraph dated A.D. 1319 January, Tuesday the 2nd,—sixteen years after the second battle at Sirsi,—clearly suggests that the Tujuvas had invited disaster on themselves. For this stone epigraph found at Hanagavāḍi, Honnāḷi tāluka, gives an account of the measures which Vīra Ballāḷa Deva's generals took to assert the Hoysala authority in Tuḷuva.

The cause of the trouble was following : a leader called Basava Deva of Candāvuru below[7] the Ghats (ī.e., in Tuḷuva) had rebelled against the Hoysalas for some unknown reasons. At this Sankiya Sāhaṇi, the brother-in-law of the senior house (palace) minister ( *hiriya maneya pradhāni*) Baiceya Daṇṇāyaka, was directed to march against Basava Deva. Candavūru was destroyed, and Sankiya Sāhaṇi proceeded against Mutḷa..... which he besieged. In the battle of the Ghats, as it is called in the record, the Tuḷavas were destroyed. The most

**1. E. C, Sa. 101, p. 110. A record dated A.D. 1317 informs us that Vīrg Ballāḷa Deva gave a grant to some one. It mentions Gahgeya DaṇṇSyaka as the son of Ajuva Daṇṇayaka, one of the royal *Daṇ ḍandthas* of the court, is. C. IX., Ma. 59, p. 58. B. A. S.**

remarkable incident in the battle, it may be observed, was the heroism of *Mahasamanta Samantadhipati* Sangiya Nāyaka, who died in the battle.[1]

The other inscriptions found in Tuḷuva are also to be referred to the reign of the same Hoysala monarch. The first of these was found in the Mahiśāsuramardhini temple at Nīlāvara in the Uḍipi tāluka. It is dated Saka 1255, Aṅgirasa, Phālguna, Ba. 10, Mīna, 16, Thursday which corresponds to A.D. 1333, March the 11th Thursday. The inscription records a gift of lands in Niruvara (i.e., Nilavara ) by the fourteen members of the assembly of the village to the temple of Durga Bhagavati. The gift was made with the permission of Vayijapa Daṇṇayaka and other officers and in the presence of the chief queen Cikkayi Tayigaḷu.[2]

Another record also discovered in the same temple but dated Saka 1257, Bhāva, Dhanus, 2(8), Vaḍḍavāra which corresponds to A.D. 1334, December the 24th Saturday, gives the name of the queen as Bukkāyi Tayi. The village (assembly) of Niruvara ( seems to have made a similar gift).'

1. *E.C.* VII. HI. 117, pp. 178. 423. The date given is *Sakavaruia* 1248 *neya Kaḷḍyukta Samvatsarada Su. 10 Soṁavdra.* But the cyclic year for Saka 1248 was Ksaya, while for Saka 1240 it was Kaḷāyukta. The date intended was probably A.D. 1319 January the 2nd Tuesday, the week day not corresponding. Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.* IV, p. 240.

2. *492 of 1928-29; Ep. RepU* for 1928-9, p. 54. (Saka 1255= Srlmukha ; Saka 1254 = Angīrasa). But Phālguṇa Bahuja 10 = March the 12th Friday. Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.* IV. p. 268.

3. *493 of 1928-9* ; *Ep. Rept.* for 1928-9, p. 54.

But the correct name of the chief queen of Vīra Ballāḷa Deva was Kṛṣṇāyi Tāyi. This is gathered from a stone inscription found in the Somes\ara temple at Muḍukēṟi in Bārakūru. It styles her as the senior crowned queen *(paṭṭada piri-arasi K[r]i[ṣṇ]āyi Tāyi).* The *Mahāpradhāna* Vayijapa Daṇṇāyaka during the ministership *(pradhānikeyalu)* of Ajjaṇṇa Sāhaṇi, in the presence of the senior crowned queen Kṛṣṇāyi Tāyi, made some (specified) endowment for the customary procedure of the god Somanātha *(Somandtha dēvara bēhara naḍavaḍe).* The co-operation of the three Settis or the heads of the commercial guilds of the three streets of Bārakūru (muru *keriya muvaru S'ettikararu),* and of the 150 citizens and of others (?nūru *aivattu eḷame muntāgi)* was also obtained while making the endowment.

The above inscription is dated *S'aka varuṣa 1258 neya Dhātu saṁvatsarada Vaiśākha S'uddha 1 Meśa māsa 16 neya S'anivāradandu* which works out correctly to A.D. 1336 April ( Dhātṛi) the 13th Saturday.[1]

The sixth stone inscription which falls within the reign of the Hoysala monarch Vīra Ballāḷa Deva I I I was found at Bailūru in the Uḍipi tāluka. It is dated Saka

1. *122 of 1907; S. J. J.* **V I I. No. 312, p. 163; Swamikannu,** *ibid,* **I V. p. 274. The opinion of Rangachari that the record of A.D. 1331 "Shows that the Alupas were overthrown by the Hoysalas in the government of the District"** *Top. List.,* **I I , p. 861) is erroneous. We have seen that epigraphical evidence proves that the Alupas continued to rule even under the Vijayanagara monarchs as feudatories till A.D. 1441 ! Neither the Hoysala nor the Vijayanagara rulers vere indiscreet enough to overthrow an ancient family that had governed the district for centuries. B. A. S.**

1257 (A.D. 1335-6), and it narrates that the queen Kikkāyi Tāyi granted the *samudāya* tax of the village of Bailūru (for the offerings of the god?) to Vāsudeva Mudali. The *Mahāpradhāna* Baicapa Daṇṇāyaka and the *nakhara hañjumāna* or the corporate assembly of Bailūru are also mentioned in this record.[1]

And yet another stone inscription of this queen has been found in Tuḷuva. It was discovered in the Gubbukōṇe Gopālakṛṣṇa temple at Kanyāṇa in the Kundāpūru tāluka. It is dated only in the cyclic year (Sarva) dhārin, Mithuna, Friday, which agrees with Saka 1270 (A.D. 1348 June), the other detail being insufficient to verify the date. In this the ruler is given the following *birudas;—Pandya Cakravartin,arirāya-Basaoa S'afikara* and *rāya-gajāṅkuśa.* And the queen is represented as making a gift of land to Aṇṇa Hebbāruva.[2]

We may be permitted to refer here to the remarks of the Madras Government Epigraphist (Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar ) concerning this Kanyāṇa stone inscription. He writes thus:—"As the present inscription makes no mention of Vīra Ballāḷa, while giving all the regal titles to his queen Kikkāyi, it must be understood that subsequent to his demise which is known to have taken place in A.D. 1342 (Rice, *Mysore and Coorg.,* p. 108), his queen ascended the throne and was alive in the year Sarvadhārin which corresponds to Saka 1271, i. e., A.D. 1348. The same queen figures in an in-

1. *58} ej 1929-30.*
2. *360 of 1930-31.*

scription of Harihara II from Srihgeri *(Ep. Cam.* Vi. Sg. 1) dated three years earlier than the above epigraph, *viz.,* in Saka 1268, Pārthiva, with the same *birudas* and supplementing a grant of land made by the king to the teacher Bhārati Tirtha, thus showing the subordinate position of the last Hoysala rulers to the rising Vijayanagara power.[1]

The above form a string of blunders. It is incorrect to assert that consequent on the death of Vira Ballāja Deva III his queen ascended the throne. For this violates all the known facts concerning that ruler and his son and successor Viruṗakṣạ Ballāḷa IV. The latter came to the throne on the death of his father in A.D. 1343.[2] Secondly, the cyclic year Sarvadhārin given in the above Kanyāṇa record agrees with Saka 1270 and not with Saka 1271 the cyclic year of which was Virodhin.[3] Thirdly, it was not Harihara Rāya II who made the gift to Bhārati Tirtha Srīpāda, as recorded in the famous Sringeri *maṭha* inscription,—which we have referred to in this treatise— , but it was Harihara Oḍeya I who, along with his brothers, went to the Sringeri *matha* in A.D. 1346. Further, none of the inscriptions under review, including the one as Sringeri, gives the titles *Pāṇḍya cakravartin,* etc. to the queen Kikkāyi Tāyi. They were assumed either by Vira Ballāḷa Deva III or by the Alupa ruler Vira Pāṇḍyadeva Alupendradeva II.

1. *Ep. Rep, of the S. Circle for 1930-31* p. 49.
2. Saletore, 5. *P. Life.* I. p. 7., and *ibid,* n. 6; 11, seq.
3. Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.* IV. pp. 298-300.

The fact that no ruler is mentioned in the record from Kanyāṇa is significant : it shows us that on the death of Vīra Ballāḷa III, his queen came to the court of her brother Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Alupendradeva II. We have seen elsewhere that Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Alupendradeva II lived till A.D. 1366. The Kanāyaṇa record, therefore, has to be assigned to his reign. And, finally, the last oftheHoysala kings were never subordinate to the rising Vijayanagara family.[1]

A few observations may be made concerning the senior crowned queen Kṛṣṇāyi Tāyi. She figures in five inscriptions hailing from the Kundāpūru, Uḍipi and Kārkaja tālukas. In all the five she is associated with the most prominent citizens who made gifts to temples in Tuḷuva. It is not improbable that the senior crowned queen was herself a Tujuva princess. This explains why she appears five times in the records of Tuḷuva.

A striking coincidence in support of our assumption is to be found in the fragmentary record already cited in the previous pages. This record dated A.D. 1346 was found in the Sriṅgeri *maṭha* and it deals with the Alupa king Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva. In this inscription the queen is called Sri Kikkāi Tāyi. Evidently there is some error here : the name Kikkāyi Tāyi has been wrongly inserted for that of Kṛṣṇāyi Tāyi. But how the scribe came to mix up this name with that'of Vira Pāṇḍya

1. For a further discustion on this subject, read, Saletore, *ibid*, p. 11 seq.; *I.H. Q.*, VKII. pp. 294, seq.

deva, two of whose *biradas- Pāṇḍya-cakravartin* and *arirāya Basava S'aṅkara*—were also borne by Vīra Ballāḷa Deva III, cannot be made out, except on the supposition that queen Kṛṣṇāyi Tāyi was the sister of Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva. The fact of Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva's having made a grant to the same religious centre ( Sringerī *maṭha* ) in the very same year ( A.D. 1346 ) when the five famous brothers, the founders of the empire of Vijayanagara, also had made a grant to the same institution, seems to point to the remarkable spirit of co-operation that prevailed amongst the new-comers and the Alupas.[1]

The battles of Sirśi and of the Ghāts led to a crisis in Tuḷuva. This is proved by the personal visit which Vīra Ballāḷa Deva paid to the general in Bārakūru in Saka 1260 (A.D. 1338). The Someśvara temple epigraph found at Āladahaḷḷi, Arsiyakere ṭaluka, relates that when the monarch "paid a visit to the Bārakūru army, on his ordering Ankeya Nayaka, son of the *great master of the robes* Honneya Nāyaka of Bāgivāḷa in Kumāravṛtti-ya Kūsu of the old Nirguṇḍanāḍ, saying— 'Remain in Barakuru', he replied— 'I will stay, Sire' *(iddhenu Jiya!)!* At which being pleased the monarch granted to him Aladahaḷḷi, a hamlet of Bāgivāḷa, as a *kodagi."*[7]

**1. Dr. Venkata Ramanayya admits that Kikkāyi Tāyi was an Alupa by birth. But his statement that she bore the *birudas Paṇḍya-cakravartin, Basava-Sankara,* and *rdyagajāṅkúsa (Vijayanagara—The Origin oj the City and the Empire,* p. 134) is incorrect. Queens never bore, except in one solitary instance of a Kakatiya princess, the *birudas* of men ! B. A. S.**

**2. *E.* C. V. Ak. 183, p. 185. Dr. Ramanayya has totally misunderstood the attitude of Vira Ballaḷa I I I towards Tujuva. He main-**

To this year A.D. 1338 is to be assigned the damaged and undated Kāṉteśvara temple stone inscription of the same Hoysala monarch. The following *birudas* are given to the ruler in this epigraph found in the Kārkaḷa tāḷuka:—*samasta bhuvana-vikhyāta, mahārājādhirāja, arirāya Basava-S'ankara, śrimat pratāpa cakravartin Hoysala Vīra Ballāḷa Deva.* The inscription contains the cyclic year Bahudhānya incorrectly written as *...madkyāna (Sam) vatsara.* The contents of this record have already been discussed in an earlier connection.[1]

The last of the Hoysala monarchs, therefore, took a personal interest in the Tujuva affairs. When we remember that his senior crowned queen was a Tuḷuva princess, this solicitude for the welfare of the province is not unintelligible. But nothing can be gathered from the epigraphs concerning the result of this royal visit to Bārakiiru in A.D. 1338. To his successors—the rulers of Yijayanagara--, however, was transmitted an equally lively interest in the affairs of Tujuva. Strictly speaking this part of the narrative falls outside the scope of the present work. But so that we may note the position of the capital Bārakūru which Vira Ballāḷa Deva visited, even after the advent of the Vijayanagara

tains that the Hoysala ruler went to Tujuva to meet "the only foe" he had on the western coast— Harihara Râya I, one of the founders of Vijayanagara ! Rarnanayya, *ibid,* p. 134. This is mere imagination. B. A. S.

1. *57 A of 1901, S. I. J.* VII. No. 232, p. 118, op. cit., Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.,* IV. pp. 28, 278.

monarchs, we may be permitted to review briefly the epigraphs which deal with this capital of the Alupas.

The Vijayanagara viceroys continued to govern Tuḷuva from the same city of Bārakūru. This is proved by an inscription found in that city of the times of Harihara Rāya II, in which it is related that, while that monarch was in his *nelevlḍu* of Dorasamudra (*'srl-vlra Harihara Mahārdyaru Dorasamudra da nelevḍinoḷage*), his viceroy, the servant at his feet, *Mahāpradhdna* Mallapa Oḍeyar was in the *rajadhdni* of Bārakūru governing the Tuḷu, Hayve, and Koṅkan kingdoms.

The date of the above record is given thus :—*S'aka var(u)ṣa 130(9) sandu 10 neya Vartamāna (Prabhava) samvatsarada Ā'sādḥa S'ndha 1 Sōmavara* which corresponds to A.D. 1387 Monday the 17th June.[1]

The importance of Bārakurū is apparent from a stone inscription found in a ruined *hasti* leading to the Coḷikēṛi in Barakuru. It is dated *S'aka 1321 neya Varta-*

1. *154 of 1901 S.I.I.* VII. No. 347, p. 203. Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph.*, IV, p. 376. Here comes a figure which cannot be satisfactorily identified. A stone inscription found in Miyāra in the Kārkaḷa tāluka, mentions a Vira Camnarasa. It records a *sarvamdnya* gift of land by Kofi Śetti *altos* Binnani, and others, for offerings to the temple of Mah§deva at Miyara. The date of the record is given as Śaka 1307 Krodhana Kartika 1, Sunday which works out correctly to A.D. 1385, October the 29th Sunday. *(531 of 1927-8 ; Ep. Rept.for 1928-9,* p. 59). Who this Vira Camnarasa OJeya was, cannot be made out. Two copies of a copper-plate grant found in the Subrahmaṇya temple at Kukke in the Puttiru taluka, represent Mādhava Raya as lord of Govapura. His gifts to some Brahmans for the worship of the god Subrahmaṇya are recorded in the grant. The grant is dated Kali 4488, Śaka 1309 (A.D. 1386), and contains many chronological details. *387 of 1927-8* ; 2 *of 1928-9*; *Ep. Rept.* for 1928-9, p. 82.

*māna (Pramādi) samvatsara S'ravaṇa S'u. 1* Friday which corresponds to A.D. 1399 July the 4th Friday.[1] It represents the *Mahāpradhāna* Nāgarasa Oḍeya in Bārakūru. That viceroy together with the sixteen Peṭṭis of the ten streets of Bārakūru ( *Bārakūru-hattu kēri hadināru mandi 'seṭṭikāraru),* the 770 *eḷemes* or nobles ( ? *eḷu-nūṟu-eppattu yeḷeme-vḍḷagadavaru),* the prominent citizens ( *? hānjamānada halaru),* the sixty Balṟāḷas, the representatives of Mūḍila Niḍambiiru, the Nāḍavas, the Nāyakas of the four *grāmas* and of the four *nāḍas* ( not named ), and others, made a stone grant.[2]

1. Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph.* IV. p. 401.

2. *154 C of 1901* ; *S.I, I.* VII. No. 350, p. 207. An inscription dated A.D. 1372 mentions the death of Ajuva *Mahaprabhu* Tavanidhi Brahmā's wife Laksmi Bommakka. Another record dated A.D. 1379 mentions the death of the Ajuva *Mahdprabhu* Head Jewel of the (Araga) Eighteen Kaṃpaṇa Tavanidhi Bamma *(i.e.,* Brahmā) Gauda himself. *E. C.* VIII. Sb. 199, 196, pp. 31-32. Evidently the name Aḷuva was still held in high esteem outside Tuḷuva in the fourteenth century A.D. B. A. S.

*

## CHAPTER IV

# VILLAGE ORGANIZATION

*Summary* — 1. The story of Mayūravarmā according to Tuḷuva traditions as embodied in the *Grama paddhati*. 2. The division of the land into thirty-two *grdmos*. 3. The usage at Kōṭa and a picture of the General Assembly. 4. Punibhments. 5. The origin of the story of Mayūravarmā. Its Buddhist source. The story outside Tuḷuva. The story in epigraphs and its popularity in the twelfth century A.D. 6. Historicity of the families mentioned in the *Grdmapaddhati*. 7. Criticism of the *Grdmapaddhati*. Its date. 8. The story of Bhūtāḷa Paṇḍya. Three versions of the story. 9. Criticism of the story and the determination of the date of the introduction of the *aliya santana* law : the *afiya santana* law was legalized in Tuluva only in the fifteenth century.

## 1. THE STORY OF MAYURAVARMA

Tuḷuva tradition is embodied in a work called *Grdmapaddhati* and in folk-songs styled Pāḍadanas. Of these shall we deal here with the former. The *Grdmapaddhati* ascribes the division of the land into *grāmas* or villages to Mayūravarmā, and the introduction of the *aḷiya santāma kaṭṭu,* or the law of inheritance through the nephew, to Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya. The story concerning the remarkable figure of Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya generally follows that of Paraśurāma in most of the versions of the *Grdmapaddhati.* This work is, according to Tuḷuva notions, a part of *Sahyādri-kāṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa.* A minute examination of all the details given in the *Grāmapaddhati* which differs both in style and matter

in different parts of the district, is outside the limits of the present treatise. It is a work of considerable length with digressions which, although interesting, are beside our purpose. We shall, therefore, restrict ourselves to those few points in the *Grāmapaddhati* which are necessary for a proper understanding of the history of ancient Tujuva.

In most versions of the *Gārmapaddhati* Mayūravarmā is abruptly introduced many years after Paraśurāma. He is said to have belonged to the Solar race and to have been the son of Hemāngada and Susīlā. One version says that Vasu, the father of Susīlā, was the son of Kadamba who is said to be the son of Parameśvara and Pārvatī.[1]

Other versions give an interesting but by no means convincing account of the origin of Mayūravarmā. These relate that king Manivarmā ruled over Banavasi, and that his sons were Kanakvarmā and Viravarmā. Once king Sibi of the Pāndyadeśa suddenly invaded Tuluva, and imprisoning Manivarmā ruled over the land. At this Manivarmā's queen fled with her two children to a town called Vārakūla (Bārakūru). Here they witnessed a strange phenomenon. On Hemāngada having died issueless, the royal elephant wandered over the streets with a garland in its trunk in search of a king. The two lads were surprised at this but were told by Rsi Mārkandeya, who had made Bārakūru his abode, the following:—That the elephant

1. *The Puttige Version,* Adhyaya 2, vv. 9-14.

would garland only those who belonged to the four *varṇd'sramas,* but not to those who professed the Jaina creed ; that in the north-east of the city of Bārakūru there was a mango tree on which lived a peacock ( *mayura)* who was guarded by its old friend a black serpent ; and that the elephant would select only him who could kill the peacock and drink its blood. On hearing this, Vīravarmā killed the peacock and was duly garlanded by the elephant.[1]

He was then only fourteen years old. The people acclaimed him as Lokāditya Mayūravarmā. His spiritual adviser Ṛṣi Mārkaṇḍeya taught him how to govern, and particularly instructed him to win the sympathy of the Jainas who had become powerful in the land. It was also at the suggestion of the same ascetic that Lokāditya Mayūravarmā brought Brahmans from Ahicchatra.

This version next mentions particularly the following:—that Lokāditya Mayūravarmā lost the favour of his elder brother Kanakavarmā who, disgusted with Vīravarmā for having killed the peacock, left Bārakūru with an army and went to Banavasi which he conquered. Here Kanakavarmā ruled like a devout Jaina.

On Ṛṣi Mārkaṇḍeya telling Lokāditya Mayūravarmā that his land was unholy because there were no Brahmans in it, the ruler went to Ahicchatra and brought

1. This is known as *pañcadivyddhivdsa* which is mentioned in the *Jdtaka* stories. For detailed references see Penzer's note on *ibid, Kathasaritsdgara, V pp.* 175-77 ; *VII.* p. 218.

Brahman colonists. He stationed them in the following thirty-two *grāmas;—*

| *Locality* | *No. of Grāmas* |
|---|---|
| Kadambakānana ... ... | 3 |
| Gokarṇa ... ... ... ... | 4 |
| Skandapura on the bank of the Suktimatī | 2 |
| Gajapurī on the southern bank of the Sītā | 2 |
| Ajapurl ... ... ... ... | 4 |
| Near Anantesa ... ... ... | 10 |
| On the north bank of the Netrāvatī ... | 7 |
| Total .. | 32 |

The Mangalore version adds here that Lokāditya Mayūravarmā after assigning the thirty-two *grāmas* to the Ahicchatra Brahmans, placed at their disposal Nāyar people from Malabar to aid them in the conduct of their agricultural operations.[1]

1. ***The Pultige version; The Mangalore version.*** **Traces of the Nāyar settlements in Tujuva are still seen. There is a tank of the Nayars called *Ndyar-kere* in the Kappettu-grama of Udipi. The stones of this tank were removed to build the famous Madhva-*sarovara* in the same town (of Ucḷipi). In Nittūru in the same tāluka, about one hundred yards to the south of the Nittūru household, there is a Nayara-matha In Brahmavuru in the same taluka are a few Nāyar families, ten in all ; these are the Rokkenāyar, Ejenāyar, etc.**

Mayūravarmā abdicated in order to do penance, as the whole world was pervaded by Kali. He left the kingdom and the little prince Candrāngada in the charge of the ministers, and retired to the forest. The Brahmans of the thirty-two *grāmas* met together and deliberated thus:—"This kingdom is now without a ruler, the ministers being all powerful. Let us return to the much-longed-for Ahicchatra." So saying they left Tuḷuva and went back to the land of their birth. And their servants, who are mentioned in Puttige version as the natives of Gorāṣṭra, forsook their fields, and remained outside their villages.

## 2. DIVISION OF THE LAND INTO THIRTY-TWO *GRĀMAS*

On his accession to the throne, Candrāngada enquired after the Brahmans, who had been brought by his father Sikhivarmā or Mayūravarmā,and was told that they had left Tuḷuva for Ahicchatra. Candrāngada himselt went to Ahicchatra, and asked them why they had left his district *(viṣaya),* and assured them that he would redestribute the households and *grāmas* and grant

**In Mūlki in the Mangalore ṭaluka, is a Nāyar temple of the god Tistava. One species of land tenure in Tuluva noticed by Sir Thomas Munro is the Nayar-geni. This is specially found in and near Barakuru. Munro reckoned this kind of tenure to be more secure than the *Kuddha-mula-geni* or tenure by simple purchase. Read *Selections from the Records of the Collectorate of South Canara, Letters of Sir Thomas Munro relating to the Revenue Administration of Canara.* Among the Mundala Holeyas of Tuluva is a song concerning the Nāyar pepple. Cf. Saletore, J. A., L V I, p. 76. B. A. S.**

them the right of tonsur*(grāmesu gṛhabhedāni caḍam tathaiva-ca cihnnam kariṣyāmi).* He then divided the *grāmas* and households in the following manner:—

| The sixteen Western *Grāmas* | The sixteen Eastern *Grāmas* |
|---|---|
| 1. Kārevūru (Tārevūru) (4 households, according to the Puttige version; but 8 in other versions) | 1. Srlpāḍi (5 households) |
| 2. Varkāḍi (Orkāḍi) (8 households) | 2. Voḍila (Baḍilu, Coḍir) (2 households) |
| 3. Maraṇe (2 households) | 3. Nāḷa (Nāla) (2 households) (Omitted in the Puttige version) |
| 4. Kolavināḍu (Koḷanāḍu) (2 households) | 4. Kārandūru (Kārandāru) (2 households) |
| 5. Pāḍi (4 households) | 5. Ujjre (Ujjari) (16 households in the Puttige version; 8 in other versions) |
| 6. Koḍila (Kūḍalu, Kudḷa)! (4 households) | 6. Kunyamārga (Kunnimārga, Kuñjamārga (8 households) |
| 7. Magebailu (Mogebailu) (4 households) | 7. Kokkaḍa (Kokkōḍu) (4 households) |
| 8. Nīrumārga (Nīrmārga) (6 households in the Puttige version; 8 in others) | 8. Rāmiñjūru (Rāmiñja, Rājakuñja) (2 households in the Puttige version; 7 in other versions) |
| 9. Mittanāḍu (Mittunāḍu) (4 households) | 9. Pude (4 households) |

| | |
|---|---|
| 10. Srīmantūru (Sīmantūru) (9 in the Puttige version ; 8 in others) | 10. Balapa (Belapa ; but in the Puttige version Ballamañje) (3 households) |
| 11. Tenagaḷe ( Kenakaḷa, Tenakaḷa) (4 households in the Puttige version ; 8 in other versions) | 11. Ernāḍu (Puttige version gives it as Baināḍu) (4 households) |
| 12. SivabelḤ(Sivabelki)(120 households in the Puttige version ; 6 in other versions) | 12. Iḍekedu(Iḍake) (6 households) |
| 13. Brahmapura (Ajapuri) (8 in the Puttige version ; 4 in other versions) | 13. Kemiñie (Kemiñja) (1 household) |
| 14. Niruvāra (Nīlāvara) (8 in the Puttige version ; 4 in other versions) | 14. Paliñje(Padiñje,Paviñje) (2 households) |
| 15. Kūṭaka(Kūṭa, Kūṭe) (8 households) | 15. Siriyāḍi (Siripāḍi in the Puttige version) (5 households) |
| 16. Talapāḍi (Kandāvara, Skandapura) (2 households) | 16. Koḍipāḍi (7 in the Puttige version; 5 in other versions) |
| *N.B.*—The Puttige version adds Omafijūru *grāma* with 9 households. | N.B.—The Puttige version omits the names of Nāḷa grama and Ernadu *grama,*[1] |

In the western *grāmas* there were 206 households; in the eastern 73 households; and between these two classifications there were 21 *grāmas* which belonged to

1. ***The Puttige version,*** **Ch. 30. Reference to *Sahyddri-kaṇḍa,* Ch. 30 is given here.**

what were called the *avāntarabheda.* This term was evidently given to the secondary households. Thus in all there were, according to the Puttige version, 300 households, and 326, according to the other versions.

These households were divided into the following sections:— those of the *Agnihotris,* the *Smārtas,* the *Bhaṭṭas,* the *Tantris,* the *Paṇḍitas,* the *Pakṣanāthas,* the *Ballalas,* the *Gramanis,* and the *Adhivasis.* A detailed account of these will be given in the appendix.

Of the Mūla or original Brahmans, the *Grāmapaddhati* mentions the following:—Nāyaka, Kiṇi, Poi, Prabhu, Bhakta, Bāḷiga, Syānubhoga, and Bhaṇḍāri, who are styled Brahmans of the Konkanadesa.

The story of Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya is then narrated in most of the versions of the *Grdmapaddhati,* but is not to be found in the Puttige version.

The division of the land into *grāmas* together with the households was one feature of the village organization of ancient Tuḷuva. Another feature which may be noted is the prominence which was given to usage; while a third feature was the conduct of business in the General Assembly. The importance of usage is best seen in the history of Kōṭa *grāma.* It is true that some of the usages mentioned in the *Grāmapaddhati* have now become obsolete. But all the same it is interesting to observe that there were sixteen *maryudegaḷu* or usages in Kōṭa. They were the following:—*pakṣakavata; bhavigejodu kambha* ( double pillars for the well ); *nade-madi nadevadya; belu-kode:* ( white umbrella ), *aidu-*

*mole dana* (a ccw with an udder that has five teats); *hagalu dlvaṭige* (a torch by day-light); *aṭṭa muridu bidda akki* (rice that has fallen down from the ceiling); *iḷidu hōda heṇṇu* (a girl who has passed puberty); *katri vlḷya* ( betel leal offered with arms crossing each other, *i.e.,* the right arm brought to the left side, the left, to the right); *manege suttu pāgaru* (a wall round the house): *kauḍige mane* (?); *eḍa-muḍi* (?); *madana-kai* ( a crutch-like stand ) ; and *mukha-maṇtapa (?).*[1]

The *Puttige version,* however, has the following to give concerning the sixteen *maryādegalu* which it calls *kattaḷegaḷu:— aṭṭa-mundu, aimoleti, tappu gaṇṭi, keṛigoda, jōḍu mara kūpa, tulā 'srankhala, gamana ́sringa vādya, nāḍe-maḍi, dlvatige, pakṣakavāṭa, tōraṇa, ďipa-mālā'Sthambha.dōḷ mañca, eddu banda heṇṇu, raṭṇa kambaḷi, cchatra?*

Important centres were likewise established for other purposes- Thus Kāṇgōḍu (Kāñjinōḍu) and Kāsaragōḍu were the *kōḍus;* Kelavanāḍu (Kolanāḍu) and Nalvattanāḍu were the *nāḍus;* Baindūru (Baidūru) and Bhaṭṭakaja were the *blḍus;* Kaḍari (Kaḍkari = ViṭṭhaJa) and Kārkaḷa were the *divānas;* Ciṭṭupāḍi and Niḍamburu were the *paksanathas;* the (capitals of the) Cautas and the Bangas were the *dharma-sthānas;* Bārakūru and Mangaḷūru (Manga Kadamba) were the *simhasanas;* Kadare (Kadri) and Kāntāvara were the *hone-sthanas (i.e.,* the places where bail could be secured ?) ; (the) Suktl and the Muktl were the *gaḍis* or the boundaries;

1. ***The Mangalore version.***
2. ***The Puttigt version.***

the Sahyādri (also called in one version Simhādri) and the Saradi (the western ocean) were the *meres* or limits and Kōṭa and Ananteśvara were the centres of meeting.

But in the thirty-two *grāmas* the meeting place for both the Saivites and the Vaiṣṇavites was Kroḍamaṇḍala i". e., Sankaranarayana in the Kundapuru taluka). But in the Mangalore version, however, it is related that a 11 questions concerning the *śāstras, mantras, tantras, smṛti-sāra, vedas,* calumny,hypocrisy, prostitution, falsehood, dereliction of religious duties, etc., were to be settled in the *kūṭa-sthaḷas* or centres of assembly obviously at Kōṭa and Ananteśvsra. Seven persons called *smṛtikāras* were appointed as judges to settle all cases in the thirty-two *grāmas.* They were Munnūrārya, Alevūrāya Uppāraṇa, Kallūrāya, Tāḷetāya, Uḍupa and Mogerāya.[1]

The same version then gives us interesting information about the manner in which a General Assembly ( *jagat-kūṭa* ) was summoned to hear an appeal against the unjust decision given by the following judges:—Aṇṇa Ugraṃbaḷḷi, Aṇṇa Oraṃbaḷḷi, Aṇṇa Kuñja, Aṇṇa Mañjanōḍi, Aṇṇa Mittanōḍi, Aṇṇa Kāranta and Aṇṇa Heraja. In the General Assembly the representatives of the two *grāmas* were to take their seat in the following manner:—The representatives of the eastern *grāmas* were to face westwards and station themselves in two rows of eight each with two Ballāḷas on either side, the Paṇḍits on the right side, and the Sabhāpatis on the

1. Cf. Hcgde, *Carite,* pp. 96-97. The last name Mogeraya is omitted in the Mangalore version but mentioned by Hegde.

left, while Mañjitya (their spokesman) was to be stationed amidst four (representatives).

The representatives of the western *grāmas* were to adopt a similar procedure but with their faces turned towards the east.

The king called Mayūravarmā was then to ask permission cf the deities presiding over the eastern and western regions, and take his seat on the throne with the sixty-four tributary rulers on the right and the left sides. These latter were to be stationed on the south in this manner:—In two rows of thirty-two with their face turned towards the north. (How these tributary kings were to be seated is given in a later passage thus:—On carpets were to be placed long bolsters for reclining *[loḍu];* and Kocci Kirṭṭādhlpati, also called Koccinātha, was to be seated on the right, and Vāmanjūru Rāmanātha, also called Rāmanta, was to be seated on the left. When these were thus seated, the Cauṭa and Banga chiefs were to be stationed at two posts, Taḷavāra and Sāvanta chieftains at two posts [ *vaḍḍi-nallu* ? ], the other *dhores* or nobles to be seated on either side). The king was then to ask the sanction of the General Assembly *(sabhā anuṁeyan kẹḷi koṇḍ...).*

Mañja (ì. c, Mañjitāya) was next to summon the four Ballāḷas, who having understood, were to communicate (the case) to the Paṇḍits and the Sabhāpatis, who were to explain (it) to the Pakṣanāthas. The Pakṣanāthas were to stand up and address themselves to the *vidvaUmahājana (i.* e., the General Assembly of the Wise),

and the General Assembly was to say " So be it! " ( /. e., to give its opinion on the case under discussion).

The opinion of the General Assembly being thus told to Mañja, he was to communicate it to the king ( who gave his final decision).

The same version of the *Grāmapaddhati* continues to narrate the following concerning the sets of officials who were entrusted with particular functions in the General Assembly. Thus, the Adhivāsis were to give information or instruction *(upade'sa);* the Jannis, various opinions ( ? *taraḷe* in the original, evidently a mistake for *tarada,* lor *taraḷę* means a girl ! ); the Grāmaṇis, to investigate *(vicāra)* ; the Ballāḷas, to administer *(ballāḷara āḍaljte)* ; the Bhaṭṭas, to arbitrate *(pañcayitike);* the Paṇdits, to decide; the Sabhāpatis, to improve upon or to correct *(tidduvaḷike);* the Pakṣanāthas, to punish and to protect *Csikṣe rakṣe);* the Smārtas learned in the Vedas, to cite the canonical texts *(S'rauta smartara nityanasara* ? ); and the Tantris to decide whether the citations were accurate ( *? tantngala agamoktinirnaya )*[1]

It may be observed here that another version ol the *Grāmapaddhati* hailing from Uḍipi states that the Kōṭa Mahā *grāma* had an assembly of 40,000 citizens.[2]

The Manglore version contains a few more details concerning what is called *jagatmaṇḍala* ( or the *mahājagat).* It relates thus:—In the *jagat-maṇḍala* was Mañja

1. ***The Mangahre version.***

2. **Version supplied to me by Paṇdit Venka^adāsa Acaryt of Uḍipi. B. A. S.**

to be stationed *(Jaganmanmaladalli Mañja sthāna);* on the east of Mafija were the Pakṣanāthas to be stationed ; on the left side of the Paṇḍits the Sabhāpatis were to be stationed; this was how they were to be stationed. The representatives of the four *grāmas* beginning with Srī-pāḍi were to be stationed to the north of the Paṇḍits; those of the four *grāmas* beginning with Ujjare, to the west of the preceding ; those of the four *grāmas* of the east, to the south of the preceding ; and those of the lour *grāmas* beginning with Ḷdekedu, to the east of the preceding. In this way the assemblies of the representatives of the western *grāmas* were to be in the north-east of Mafija ; while keeping always the right side towards him were Kuñjaṇṇāya, Kauḍambaḍitāya, Talepāḍitāya, and Mañjunāḍitāya. And to his south were the seats of royalty in the midst of which there was to be the council of the king.[1]

These detailed notices of the manner in which they conducted their business in the General Assembly are not available in inscriptions. But from epigraphical evidence cited in the previous pages, it may definitely be stated that there were more than two or three large General Assemblies in Tuḷuva. We have also seen that in the conduct of public affairs, the people co-operated either with the rulers themselves or with their highest officials. The exestence of the General Assemblies and the close co-operation of the

1. *The Mongalore version.*

State with the citizens in ancient Tuḷuva, therefore, is proved beyond doubt.

Indeed, the two following stone inscriptions conclusively show that the earlier General Assemblies continued under the Vijayanagara Emperors. Both of them were found in the Gubbukōṇe Gopālakṛṣṇa temple at Kanyāṇa in the Kundāpūru taluka. And they fall within the reign of Harihara Rāya II. The earlier of these is dated Saka 1306, Raktākṣi, Jyeṣṭha, Su. 2, Sunday which corresponds to A.D. 1384, May, Sunday the 22nd. The Vijayanagara viceroy *Mahāpradhāna* Jakkarasa Oḍeyar governed from Bārakūru. The epigraph in question registers some privileges made by the Jananis *(i.e.,* Jannis) of Rājāḍi-Bellatūru to the *mahā-jagat,* evidently of the same locality.[1] The other is record dated Saka 1320, Iśvara Phālguṇa, Ba. 10 Saturday. The date agrees with A.D. 1398 March Wed nesday the 13th, the weekday not corresponding. This inscription registers a sale of land to a certain Lingarasa by the six Jananis of Nālkūru of Rājāḍi-Kanyāṇa (/. e., Bellatūru) and by the fifty *jagat,* subject to certain conditions.[2]

## 4. PUNISHMENTS

While the existence of General Assemblies and of corporate activities on the part of the Tujuvas is thus proved by the epigraphs as well as by the *Grāmapaddhati,* we have to see what actually were the punishments

1. *357 of 1930-31* ; Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.* IV. p. 370.
2. *359 of 1930-31* ; Swamikannu, *ibid,* p. 398.

meted out to culprits, in addition to those referred to in the epigraphs, either by the people themselves or by the king in conjunction with the citizens. We shall base our remarks on the Puttige version of the *Grāmapaddhati,* and on personal observation of affairs that took place in recent years.

The Puttige version of the *Grāmapaddhati* contains many examples of punishments given to culprits. Of these we shall select three types—the decision of the Muḷḷūru *grāma* people, the punishments given to the Twenty-four Toṭṭilu *grāma* people,[1] and the famous Kũta (Kõṭa)-Kõṭīśvara dispute which is remembered even today by the people. To these we shall add the actual working of a village organization in our own days.

Muḷḷūru was one of the impure *grāmas (patitya-gramaṃ)* situated to the south of the Suktimatī or the Gangāvaḷī river. It is also called Moda *grāma.* Here were two Sūdra brothers Mudda and Kunda who, by the way, appear elsewhere as Jaina princes. They were wealthy and pious. Once eight Brahmans belonging to the thirty-two *grāmas,* approached these two brothers, along with their families, desirous of getting riches from the two wealthy brothers. The Brahmans blessed

1- This is a curious name of village. In the original the word "Twenty-four Tottilu" is given in the margin of the palm-leaf Ms. Obviously the culprits, whose history we shall narrate, belonged first to the Vjjare *grama,* and because they settled after their expulsion from that village at Tottiulu, the latter place came to be known as "Tottilu of the Twenty-four." No such name is met with today although Tottilu exists. B. A. S.

them, praised them in many ways, and secured much wealth from them. Here they lived for twelve years in peace.

Once the elder brother Mudda wishing to seek a bride, with the help of his relatives, pitched upon a girl who lived half a *yojana* away. On the wedding day, however, he could not find bearers who could carry his palanquin to the bride's house *(śibikā Vāhakaḥ kō'pi nasti atra viṣayebata).* Mudda then consulted the Brahmans, and since he said, "I am your slave, aid the prosperity of my family," out of pity and love, the eight Brahmans agreed to carry his palanquin to the house of his bride *(aṣṭapadena ayutam aṣṭau te śibikam dadhuḥ).* On the completion of his marriage ceremony, Mudda returned to his village. In return for their kindness, he gave them various clothes, ornaments and 100 coins *(śata-prasyam niṣkani).*

The Brahmans, however, hid these presents in places outside the village before entering it. The people of the thirty-two *grāmas* saw these sinners, and in a rage belaboured them mercilessly *(patitān āgatān dṛṣṭvā grāmasthāḥ krodha mūrcchitāḥ daṇḍamādāya hastena nijaghnuḥ tān.)*

The culprits hurried to their Sudra protector, who is called now a Vrsala. He consoled them by promising them a gift of a *grāma* full of cattle and other necessaries. Accordingly in the presence of the god Simhesa, Mudda gave them the *grāma,* cattle, houses, and ornaments. Then he went on a pilgrimage. And **the**

Brahmans, who had been ostracized by their brethren of the thirty-two *grāmas,* lived in their new *grāma* which they divided into eight plots among themselves.

These eight Brahmans were considered to be outside the pale of friends, the *guru,* and the family *(kulahlnaḥ parityaktaḥ guru-bandhu-janaih saha).* The people of the thirty-two *grāmas* condemned them as sinners *(dvātṛiṃśat grdma-vāsibhyo ninditaḥ pdpa-kārinah).* Further they were condemned to eat the food of the Sudras *(sadā S'ūdrdnna nirataḥ).* Their very sight made one impure, and the atonement *(prāyaścitta)* prescribed for the sin of looking at them was the following:— The man who looked at them should see the bright sun tor a long time *(caṇḍāmśo dar'sanaṃ paraṃ),* and he should worship the great god Nṛsimha. He who talked about them would never be able to fulfil any work !

The affairs in the Twenty-four Toṭṭilu *grāma* were more interesting. In the reign of a king called Candradatta, a great car festival *(dhvajottsava)* was held in that *grāma.* All the people including the Sabaras attended the great festival. Some people of the Ujjare *grāma* abducted a Sahara girl who had got herself lost in the crovd ( *Ujj're grdmakaḥ kecit vañcayitvā atha bālikāṃ)*\ and carrying her off to their village, in due course, gave her in marriage to a Brahman youth of another village. The Sahara parents bemoaned her loss in vain.

Years passed by, and the Sabarī bore to the Brahman a girl and two boys. Once again the same wicked

Brahmans *(atlva dhūrtāḥ viprāḥ)* came to witness the car festival in that same *grāma,* along with the Sabarl and her children. Her Sahara father and mother too came to see the same festival. On meeting her parents, the Sabarī maiden cried out loudly at which her mother wept widely and her father attempted to seize her. But her Brahman husband, encouraged by his wicked friends, cried out that his wife was being seduced by a Nīca (a Sahara).

The case came up for hearing before the king who summoned the Sahara father, who is now called a Pulinda, and asked him why he had seized the wife of Brahman. To this he represented the whole case, and swore that he would undergo any ordeal to prove his words. He then went to his hut along with his wife.

The king turned to the culprits and addressed them in severe terms. Frightened at this, they confessed their crime but begged to be forgiven. Just and generous as the king was, he caused all their belongings to be brought and had them given to the representatives of the *gramas (grāmastha)* with the order that they were to retain or abandon the goods belonging to the Brahmans as they thought best. He then returned to his palace.

The representatives of the Thirty-two *grāmas* bowed their head in shame. They met hurriedly together and decided to do the following:—On the neck of the Brahmans (who were a family of twenty-four) of the Ujjare *grama,* they put red (flower) garlands and expel-

led them to the outskirts of the village. They then purified the ground (over which the sinners had walked) with cow-dung water, and performed their *śrāddha* or obsequies according to the *kumbha* rites, declaring that they should not be allowed to live any more in the Thirty-two *grāmas*:—

*atha-rāja mahā-prājfiaḥ satya-dharmaratah sudhi I*
*ādāya te'sāṃ sarvasoaṃ grāmasthebhya pradattavañ II*
*parityāga-aparityagām taih-eva tu vidhiỳatañ I*
*iti-uktva nṛpatih dhīmān jagāma nija-mandiram II*
*dvātrimśat grāma-nilaya vṛlayañata mastakaḥU*
*sametya sahasa tatra pāpināṃ grāmavāsinaṃ I*
*tasyaḥ samparkiṇaṃ rājan catur-vim"sati-kutumbinañ II*
*catur-vimtáti-arbhakanāṃ doḷañ-adāyā satvaram I*
*te'sāṃ gale'su niḳsipya rakta mālyāni yañica II*
*ṣ(te)'sāṃ grāmabahir deśe tadvat gomaya vāriṇa I*
*tat hā visarjaydmāsuh (makā) bhdgci dhṛḍau vṛthaḥ II*
*tebhya śrāddham tataḥ krtvā vidhivat kumbha-samjnakaṃil*
*dvātrimśat grāma madh(y)eṣu na tebhyamsthanam-idṛśāṃil*

The *Gramapaddhati* narrates that those sinners still wander homeless *(sthānah'maḥ),* abandoned *(parityaktaḥ)* (by their castemen), and that they are forbidden the daily rites of worship *(sarve karma bahiskrtaḥ).*

The Kūṭa-Kōṭīśvara dispute is celebrated in the history of Tuḷuva. This happened in the reign of king Vasu (i. e., Vibudhavasu of the Alupa family). King Vasu, as we have already seen, was celebrated for his good qualities. On one occasion there occurred a dispute between the great *kūṭasthas* (of Kōṭa evidently)

and the Kṓṭisvaras, concerning the village boundary, and the income (rent ?) amounting to sixteen *prasthas* payable therefrom:—

*kadācit abhavat Vadam Kuṭa-sthanam(nām) mahātmanāṃii*
*tat ha Koṭi'svara-sthānām slmā Vyattasta kāraṇam* II
*tadāvai hema sambandhaṃ soḍa'sa prastha hctukaṃ* II

The dispute dragged on for some time after which it was placed before the king. Notwithstanding the wily importunities of the Koṭisvaras, the learned king, who was proficient in state policy *(sa raja-nitimam vQgmi),* after due deliberation addressed the assembly *(sabhā)* thus:—"We shall pray to the goddess Kaśyapl. She will decide the proper from the improper. Wheresoever there is sin, there you will burn."

*Kā'syaplm prārthayisyamah vadati esa śúbha-a'subhaṃ* I
*kaluṣaṃ yatra yatra a si tatra tatra dahisyasi* II

Then having ordered his officers ( *cārān Ujñapayat)* to summon atonce the representatives of the Thirty-two *grāmas,* who were well versed in their own *dharma (dvātriṃśat grāma nilayān sve sve dharme vyavasthitān*), and who were exceedingly wealthy, respectful, and worthy of being honoured, the king addressed them thus;—"Tomorrow it shall be decided."

That very night some cunning Kōṭiśvaras came to the village boundary, quickly dug a pit, hid a wretched (and doomed) man in it, and covering him with earth *(kṣoṇim khātvā yāmāmātram kuṇḍe kuṇḍita karmaṇaḥ* I *nikṣipya paraṣam ka'scit sikatam te prapUrayan* N ), before down returned to their houses pretending innocence.

(On the morrow) the representatives of the Thirty-two *grāmas* went to the king, and blessing him requested him to come to the boundary line. Surrounded by Brahmans learned in the *tantras,* the king went to the boundary of the village accompanied by auspicious music and with materials for worship. All the people including the Kōṭlśvaras were present on the occasion:—

*tadā Vasuḥ doijaiḥ sārdhaṃ slmantāṃ prayayaa mudā* I
*sangṛhya pūjāsambhāraṃ daivajfiaiḥ tantrikaiḥ saha* H
*tauryantrikena samyuktaḥ Kotṭa Kotṭ'svaraih saha* II
*pūjāṃ cakāra dharaṇlṃ gandha-puṣpa-akṣatādhibhih* II

(At the appointed place) the king worshipped the earth with *naivedya, dhūpa, dlpa,* etc., in the customary manner, and prayed to the goddess (Earth) with folded hands thus:— "Auspicious goddess ! you know (best) whether I have committed sin or benevolence ! Whether done wilfully or through ignorance, forgive me ! In the proper investigation by the people ( *śodhanāya dṛ'sā nṛnām),* let it be well pronounced by you whether this holy region *(kṣetra)* belongs to the Kūṭa-sthāna or to KōṭlsVara ! " So saying he remained silent.

And the unfortunate man in the pit intending to bring ruin on himself as well on the Kōṭlśvaras, cried out loudly—"This region, I assure you, belongs to the Kōṭlśvaras *(idam Kdtj'svara sthānam braveham na atra sambayaḥ)*!"

The Kōṭlśvaras were jubilant but from the heavens came a voice (of the goddess), in great friendship to

her husband the god Koṭiśvara *(nija bharṭuḥ sneha-eva tathā Koṭiśvarasya ca),* and afraid of the sin committed by the people. It was the voice of the goddess Bharati, who making herself visible said thus:—"This speech does not belong to the earth : it is that of a human being ! The KoṭiSvaras are deceivers and wicked : I curse them, O king, at the feet of Siva !"

*Koṭi'sa sthānajaḥ sarve vañcakāḥ pāpacāraṇāḥ* I
*asmin arthe mahā-rājā śāpami S'wa pādayoḥ* II

The goddess, who is now[7] called Bhagavatī, then vanished leaving the king Vasu surprised and stupified. For in the pit which opened before his eyes, was the body of a man turned into a mass of flesh full of worms !

*grāmasthānāṃ purastāt tu bhūmim khātvā pradṛṣṭavān* I
*krimi-sankuhtaṃ mamsabhutaṃ puruṣa vighrahaṃ* II

The king was deeply moved, but recovering himself ordered the confiscation of the property of the culprits, which he handed over to the representatives of the *gramas,* saying-"Decree what is fit to be retained, and what, to be rejected !"

*sa rājā vismayaḥ bhāivā hrodhāt saihrakta locanaḥ* I
*grāmasthānāṃ purastat tu sarvasvam apahrtrya ca* II
*asatya vadinaḥ (nāṃ) tatra grāmasthebhya pradattavānl*
*parityāga-aparityāgam taih-eva vidhiyatam* II

Then the representatives of the Thirty-two *grāmas* decided that as the culprits had lied, and had thereby become polluted, homeless, disreputable, and devoid of their daily rites, they were not entitled to (the

benefits of) marriage ( and other social functions ) in the community.

*asākṣivādinaḥ yūyam patitaḥ pāpayantritaḥ* I
*anasthana-aslaghanlya-sarvakarma bahiṣkṛtaḥ* II
*asmin grāme vivāhādi varjamīyaḥ bhaviṣyati* I

Thus were the Koṭi śvaras denied the privileges of society, and thus did they wander at will till they came across a great personage of resplendent countenance, who brought them back into the fold of the cultured society of Vaiṣṇavism. We shall describe in minute detail this great figure, and how he converted them into his religion. The Brahmans thus purified were now permitted by the king to live in a *grama* which cannot be identified. But we may note in what manner they were held by the people : one became impure by merely looking at them (*teṣām dar'sana-matrena patityam labhate naraḥ).* The atonement ( *prayascittam* ) recommended for this fault was that one should abandon food on six occasions ( *prayascittam aham Vakṣe ṣaṣta kala dsanam tyajet).*[1]

Barring the reference to the goddess Earth, the procedure in the above case is strikingly similar to the one mentioned by Kauṭalya in his *Artha'sastra.* The general conformity of Tuḷuva judicial procedure to the ancient injunctions as laid down by Kauṭalya permit us to dwell at some length on the rules enunciated by that lawgiver. We have the following in the *Arthasastra* concerning boundary disputes :—

1. *The Puttge version.*

" In all disputes regarding the boundary between any two villages, neighbours or elders of five or ten villages *(pañca-grāmī da'sa-grdml va)* shall investigate the case on the evidence to be furnished from natural or artificial boundary marks."

In this detail the Tuḷuva procedure in judicial was in accordance with the principles laid down by Kauṭalya. But in regard to the punishments, the Tuḷuva ruler mentioned above was stricter and less merciful than the judge mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra.* For Kauṭalya writes the following:—" If the boundary marks just described, are not found, a fine of 1,000 panas shall be imposed (on the misleading or guilty person)...The king shall beneficially distribute among others those holdings which have no boundary marks or which have ceased to be enjoyed by any person." Kauṭalya, theretore, makes no provision for the confiscation of the property of the culprits and its distribution among the villagers. Confiscation by the king is ordained only in the following circumstances—when disputes concerning fields remain unsettled either by the elders of the neighbourhood or of the village in the first instance, by the number of "pure and respectable" people, in the second instance, or by the disputants themselves in the last instance,-then, the "holding *(vāstu)* under dispute shall be taken possession of by the king".[1]

That the picture of a Tuḷuva village assembly may be complete, we may give a few details concerning the

1. Kautalya, *Arthaśāstra,* Bk. III. Ch. IX, pp. 207-208 (Sastry, 1923).

settlement of a dispute in our own days. Notwithstanding the fact that these remarks refer to a period that is outside the purview[7] of the treatise, yet we may be permitted to give them in order to show[7] how[T] ancient usage still governs the actions of the Tuḷuva people. The following took place in the Ulpāḍi *grāma*, a suburb oi Mūlki in the Mangalore ṯaluka in 1925. Guḍḍa Nāyaka, the *pūjāri* or priest of the Guḍḍesāne devil shrine was dismissed by the *gramasthas* or representatives of the *grama* of Ulapāḍi. But he was reinstalled by the *sime* or district representatives. The *gramasthas* refused to entertain him, and hindered him from doing the work at the devil shrine. The *arasu* or king (of Bappanāḍu) having sided with the *slme* representatives, excommunicated the representatives of the *grama* for having disobeyed his orders. He decreed that no fire or food or water was to be given to the *grama* people.

The *grāma* representatives then met in deliberation which lasted one day. They discussed the validity of the order passed by the *arasu.* At last they decided to i ine him for having pronounced a judgment against them without hearing their case. The fine imposed on the *arasu* was only to the extent of eight annas, but it was paid on his behalf by some villager. And the ban on the *gramasthas* was lifted[1].

1. The *pujdris* of the devil shrines in Tuḷuva are generally of the Baidyenāye or Billavar caste. Only in the Ekkār *mdgaṇe* the *pūjāri* is a *Vokkilme* or a Buṇt. Hence the *pūjāri* is styled a Nāyaka in the above account. The usual form which the social boycott takes is in this order—*"tū ṁra koraḍe gandha prasdda koraḍe"* (Do not give

## 5. THE ORIGIN OF THE STORY OF MAYŪRAVARMA AND ITS DATE

The above account of Mayūravarmā and of the division of the land into thirty-two *grāmas* may now be examined with the aid of epigraphs and literature. We shall be concerned here mainly with the question of the age to which this part of the *Grāmapaddhati* relating to Mayūravarmā may be assigned.

### (A) THE LEGEND OF MAYŪRAVARMĀ: ITS ORIGIN

The story of Mayūravarmā as given in the *Grāma-paddhatihas* a close resemblance to the one given in the *Nigrodha Jataka* which we may be permitted to give in full.

Nigrodha Kumāra and Sakha Kumāra were sons of two merchants. These together with Pottika, who was the son of a tailor, after finishing their education at Takkasīla (Takṣaśīla) came to Benares, and lay down to rest in a temple. It was then the seventh day since the king of Benares had died. Proclamation was made throughout the city by beat of drum, that on the morrow the festival car would be prepared. The three comrades were lying under the tree asleep when at dawn Pottika awoke and sitting up began to chafe Banyan's (/. *e.*, Nigrodha Kumāra's) feet. Some cocks were roosting upon that tree, and the cock at the top let a dropping fall upon a cock near the bottom.

---

**fire and water; do not give *gandha* and *prasdda* [of the local god]). A *sīmt* represents sine *mdgants*, as in MuĪki, and below the *magī arte* is a *grāma*, B. A. S.**

"What is that fell upon me?", asked this cock. "Do not be angry, Sir", answered the other. "I did not mean to do it." "Oh ! Do you think my body is a place for your droppings? You do not know my importance, that is plain ! "

To this the other said, "Oh ! Still angry though I declared that 1 did not mean it! And what is your importance, pray ?" "Whosoever kills and eats my flesh will receive a thousand pieces of money this very morning! Is not that something to be proud of ![M]

"Pooh! Pooh!", quoth the other, "proud of a little like that! Why, if anyone kills me and eats of my fat, he will become a king this very morning; he that eats of the middle flesh, becomes the commander-in-chief; who eats the flesh about the bones, he will be the treasurer."

All this Pottika over heard. "A thousand pieces !" thought he. "What is that ? Best to be king!"

So gently climbing the tree, he seized the cock that was roosting atop, and killed it, and cooked it in the embers ; the fat he gave to Banyan, the middle part to branch (i. c, Sakha Kumāra), and himself ate the flesh that was about the bones. When they had eaten, he said, "Banyan, Sir, you will be king ; Branch, Sir, you will be commander-in-chief; and as for me, I am the treasurer !" They asked him how he knew[T]; he told tbem.

So about the time for the first meal of the day, hey entered the city of Benares. At the house of a

certain Brahman, they received a meal of rice with g*hi* and sugar; and then emerging from the city, they entered the royal park.

Banyan lay down upon a slab of stone, the other two lay beside it. It so happened that at the moment they were just sending forth the ceremonial chariot, with the five symbols of royalty in it ( *viz.*, sword, parasol, diadem, slippers, and fan). In rolled the car, and stopping, stood ready for them to enter. "Some being of great merit must be present here!", thought the chaplain to himself. He entered the park, and espied the young man ; and removing the cloth from his feet he examined the marks upon them. "Why", he said, "he is destined to be king of all India, let alone of Benares !" And he ordered all the gongs and symbols to strike up.

Banyan awaking threw the cloth from his face, and saw a crowd assembled round him ! He turned round and for a moment or two he lay still, then arose, and sat with his legs crossed. The chaplain fell upon one knee, saying, "Divine Being ! The kingdom is thine !" "So be it !," said the youth ; the chaplain placed him upon the heap of precious jewels, and sprinkled him to be king.

Thus made king, he gave the post of commander-in-chief to his friend Branch, and entered the city in great pomp ; and Pottika went with them.[1]

1. Cowell, *Thi Jaṫaka,* IV. pp. 24-5.

The story given in the *Grāmapaddhati* seems but to be another version of the above Buddhist account. Since we know that Tuḷuva was under Buddhist influence down to the tenth century A.D., it is not unreasonable to suppose that the earlier tradition current amongst the Buddhists was given a new colouring by the Tuḷuva Brahmans of the later ages.

While the origin of the story of Mayūravarmā is thus clear, we have now to find out the probable date when it gained popularity both in and outside Tuḷuva. This can be done by finding out how far it was known outside Tuḷuva, and whether there are any clues in contemporary epigraphs enabling us to fix the date, especially of that part of the narrative concerning Mayūravarmā's distribution of the land into *grāmas.*[1]

**1. The general distribution of the 32 *grâmas* among the Brahmans is not to be confounded with the allotment of four *grāmas* among certain Brahmans. *The North Kanara Gazetteer* refers to a tradition according to which Brahmans from the north were settled at Gokarṇa. *(North Kanara Gaz.* I, p. 117, n.). The writer opines that this movement of Brahmans from the north may have been consequent on the destruction of Valabhi in Gujarat by the Arabs in the seventh or eighth century A.D. This view is accepted by the compiler of the *South Canara Manual,* I I . p. 60.**

**On this question the following is found in the Puttige version of the *Grāmapaddhati-* In the polluted village called Naǧa on the bank of the Cakranadī, lived the Brahmans cursed by Paraśurāma. But for the uttering of the *gdyatri* and the wearing of the sacred thread, none would have called them Brahmans—so fallen they were. The Vedic lore was forbidden to them. Once when Mayūravarmā went to Valabhi to bring learned Brahmans, he employed these Brahmans as *bdyis* to carry his palanquin : *Mayūravarmā sa pur¯a medhdvi Valabhim prati* 1 *Rdmeṇa nirmitaiḥ vipraiḥ vdhayitvd sva-vdhanam* I *ṣiṣṭhām viprdn samdddya punah ¸sa pur am dyayau* j). When Mayūravarmā**

**(B) THE STORY OUTSIDE TULUVA**

The traditional accounts of Banavasi in Sunda have some similar legends to narrate. The details in which the *sthaḷa-māhātmyas* differ from the Tuḷuva accounts will he evident to the reader. The *sthaḷa-māhātmyas* of the Varadanātha temple at Sunda relate the following:—That Paraśurāma after reclaiming land from the ocean, peopled it with the Boya *jāti* or fishermen caste whom he converted into Brahmans. There were one thousand of them. But since they incurred his wrath by foolishly calling for his aid when there was no need lor it, they were cursed by him. They thus became a degraded race. About this time a ruler named Mayūravarmā considering those Brahmans to be contemptible, sent for others from Ahicchatra, and located them at different places in his dominions.

The reason ior this distribution of Brahmans is thus given:—In the Kadamba wilderness was born to Siva and Pārvatī a son who was called Kadamba. It so happened that the Mulata country being without a ruler, the people placed a pot of water in the trunk of

**returned from Valabhi, these fallen Brahmans complained of the favour shown to the new-comers, and remarked that the kĩng had assigned to the latter lands which Paraśurāma had given to the degraded Brahmans. To appease them, Mayūravarmā granted them the following four villages—Kusásthaḷī, Saśti, Matti, and Nāga, while to the new-comers, other lands were given. In these four *grāmas* the fallen Brahmans continued to live in the selfsame manner—indifter-ent to the six *karmas.* (The Puttige version). No historical information is forthcoming about this colony of Brahmans in the four *grāmas.* B. A. S.**

an elephant, agreeing to elect the person on whom it should be effused. The elephant went to the Kadamba wilderness, and poured it over the head of the young man there. He was proclaimed king of that country and also of Caurāṣṭrade^a. He then went to the Keraḷa-de£a to perform homage ; and at a shrine there was made king of that land as well. His son was Mayūra-varmā. He wanted new Brahmans, being dissatisfied with the degenerate Brahmans of the land.[1]

Another *sthaḷa māhātmya* of Banavasi relates the following:—Mayūravarmā established In his capital a Brahman, who had impressed him with reverence, by refusing to eat in a country wherein there were no Brahmans. Candrāngada, son of Mayūravarmā, invited a large colony of Brahmans and located them in Keraja, Tuḷuva, Haiga (called in this version Haigara), Koṅkan, and Karahāṭa. This *sthaḷa māhatmya* tells us that Para-3urāma came *afterwards* to this country, bringing with him a colony of sixty-four families, among whom he established his own *vaidika* system. But between them and the others there was no agreement.[2]

### (C) THE STORY OF MAYŪRAVARMA IN EPIGRAPHS

The above versions from Banavasi merely prove that the story of Mayūravarmā's accession to the throne and

1. Taylor, *Cat. Rats.*, I I I . pp. 705-706.

2. *Ibid,* I I I . p. 329. The Brahmans introduced by ParaSurāma in this account are called Citapāvans, and are said to have been brought from Aryana.. The Parpara (Barbara ?) country Brahmans were called Madhinyanal. These received rights and privileges from Candrāngada, son of Mayftravarmā. *Ibid.*

of his distribution of the land into *grāmas* was current outside Tuḷuva.[1] But in order to ascertain the probable date of the origin of the story, we have to examine inscriptions that describe it at some length.

That the name Mayūravarmā which occurs in the Tuḷu *Grāmapaddhati* was historical, there cannot be any doubt. The palaeographical evidence supplied by the Candravaḷḷi incription, as Dr. M. H. Krishna has conclusively proved, enables us to assign Mayūravarmā or MayuraSrama to *circa* A.D. 258.[2]

An admirable account of the origin of the Kadamba family is given in the famous Tālguṇḍa (Sthanagūḍha) stone inscription assigned to *circa* A.D. 450. The story given in full in this interesting record is outside our purpose; it is enough to note that this lithic record makes Mayūravarmā a Brahman, "an eminent twice born" of the Kadamba family.[5]

This demolishes the assertion made in the Tuḷu *Grāmapaddhati* that Mayūravarmā was a Jaina. No mention whatsoever is made in the Tālguṇḍa record concerning the distribution of land into *grāmas* and the invitation

1. Fleet and Rice also noticed the same tradition outside Tu)uva. J. *A.* IV. p. 203 (n) ; *Myt. Ins.* Intr. pp. xKviii-xxaix. In the latter account, the heroes known to Tujuva tradition, *viz.*, Mayūravarmā Candrāngada, Lokàditya, and Hubāśiga, also figure.

2. *My. Arch. Rep.* for 1929, pp. 50-58. Mr. Jayaswal assigns th CandravaJU inscription to *circa* A.D. 300. *History of India* 150 A.D. to 350 A.D., pp. 220-221. Mr. B. A. Pires assigns the same inscription to about A D. 283. *(The Maukhāris,* p. 30. [Madras, 1934J), on grounds which are not intelligible. B. A. S.

3. *E.* C. VII. Sk. 176, pp. 113-114. See also Sk. 186, p. 121 for the name Sthanagūdha. Read also *E.* C IV. Intr. pp. 1-2.

extended to the Ahicchatra Brahmans. Therefore, till the middle of the fifth century A. D., the legend of the distribution of *grāmas* had not yet originated.

The epigraphs of the twelfth century A.D., however, give us a clue to the elucidation of the legend in question. An inscription assigned to A.D. 1160 of a feudatory ruler called Soyi Deva, narrates the following:-"To Rudra and the earth was born, under the auspicious Kadamba tree Mayūravarmā, the driver of his enemies, surrounded with kings doing homage. As he was born with an eye in his forehead, the crown was not bound there as it would cover it up, but it was bound on him near his knee where it would thus show well. What more can I say in his praise ? As he grew up in the thick shade of a great Kadamba tree, his family became the Kadamba family. After the celebrated Mukkaṇṇa Kadamba Mayūravarmā, many kings succeeded in his line."[1]

A Jaina record dated A.D. 1077 gives us a few details concerning Mayūravarmā. "A kingdom having been procured for him from the Sāsana Devī, and that forest *(vana)* being formed into a country for that prince, a crown was placed on his brow composed of peacocks' feathers, whence he obtained the name of Mayūravarmā, the revered one (or progenitor) of the Kadamba-fcu/a, Trilocana...".'

2. *E.* C. XI. Dg. 35, p. 44.
2. *Jbid,* VIII. Sb. 262. pp. 41-42.

From this inscription it may safely be inferred that the story of Mayūravarmā originated in the twelfth century A. D. A few[7] more epigraphs of the same century will substantiate our assertion. In a copper-plate grant dated A.D. 1198 we have the following:— From a drop of sweat from the broad forehead of Hara, in the ground under a Kadamba tree, sprang Kadamba, with four long arms and an eye in his forehead, like another Purāri (Siva), cultured with pure and high learning. From him was born one, subduer of the earth by the powˢer of his sword, his own arm an invincible armour, the king Mayūravarmā.[1]

With every decade a new detail seems to have been added to the story of the origin of the Kadamba-^u/a. Thus in a stone inscription dated A.D. 1174 which describes the greatness of the Kaḷacuriya king Soma, it is related that that Kaḷacuriya ruler together with Aśvatthāma had been to mount Kailāsa in order to worship Siva. He had previously worshipped Siva with the desire of obtaining a son. When filled with distress, Siva assured him saying "Do not be distressed !" Some Kadamba flowers fell down as if plucked. Seeing which king Soma worshipped Bhava with the flowˢers. On his doing so, Siva granted him the boon. And two sons were born to king Soma.[3]

1. *E. C.* VII. Sk. 117, p. 84. In this copper-plate Mayūravaimā is said to have had Ravivarma as his son, Ravivarma's son being Nrgavarmā, etc.

2. *Ibid,* Sk. 236, pp. 135-136.

From the above it will be evident that the Kadamba flowers were connected with the Kaḷacuriya kings as well, although these do not figure in the Tuḷuva accounts. That the legend of Mayūravarmā and the peacock's feathers was current in the twelfth century A.D. will be proved by the following stone inscription dated A.D. 1189 which describes the greatness of Kāva Deva. It opens with Gaurī sporting in the Himya (Himālaya) mountain and Hara falling in love with her. "From Hara's virtue being absorbed by the earth, was born one who was a portion of GirlSa, with a frontal eye and four arms. ISvara, seeing with pleasure this splendid son, blessed his offspring to be a king in the world, and from his being sprung from Samarahara and the earth, he received the title *Haradharṇi-prasutam* ; from being born in the Kadamba grove, the title Kadamba Rudra; from the reflection of peacock's feathers being impressed on his body, the title of Mayuravarma! "[1]

The twelfth century A. D., therefore, saw the popularization of the legend connecting Mayūravarmā with the peacocks. We may not be far wrong in asserting that it may have been in the same century that it travelled to Tujuva, where the Brahmans gave it a local colouring incorporating it in the *Grāmapaddhati.* Turning to the other part of the legend of Mayūravarmā, *viz.*, the introduction of Brahmans from Ahicchatra and the allotment of *gramas* among them, it

1. *E.* C., VIII. Sb. 179, p. 27.

may be remembered that, while the earliest reference to the Ahicchatra Brahmans dates prior to the twelfth century A.D., no mention is made either of Mayūravarmā or of the distribution of land among them. Thus in an inscription dated A.D. 904 of the times of Ereyapa Nṛtimārga, we are told that "From Ahicchatra the abode of *yatis,* in which was the temple of Padmodbhava (Brahmā), there came originally to the south country, in order to make it pure, free from sin, and filled with merit, companies of learned Brahmans, to the honoured district *(viṣaya)* named Vanavasi." There the whole company settled in the great village called Tānaguṇḍa (its praise and the greatness of the Brahmans described).[1]

The above proves that in the beginning of the tenth century A.D., Ahicchatra was not associated either with ParaSurāma or with Mayūravarmā. But by the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D., the story of the distribution of *gramas* by Mayuravarma received further embellishment at the hands of the scribes of inscriptions. We may recount here the division of the *gramas* into those of western and eastern sections as given in the *Gramapaddhati.* The total number of *grdmas* thus divided, we may be permitted to repeat, was thirty-two.[2]

1. *E.* C. X I I . Nj. 269, pp. 135-136.

2. Cf. Taylor, *Cat. Rats.,* I I I . p. 660 where the division of thirty-two *grdmas* is ascribed to Parasurama. Read also Rice, *Mys. Ins.* p. 196 where Mukkanna Kadamba is described to have selected 12,000 Brahmans from Ahicchatra belonging to thirty-two families.

That the original number of thirty-two was in the mind of the people is seen by the exaggerated accounts found in the inscriptions ranging from A.D. 1027 to A.D. 1158. In A.D. 1027 the 32,000 Brahmans of the immemorial *agrahara* of Gaṵda, also called Gauja, are mentioned.[1] The Brahmans of Tānaguṇḍur (Talguṇḍa) are said to have come from Ahicchatra 32*000 in number, in a record dated A.D. 1092. They are further described as residents of 144 villages acquired as donations for the eighteen horse-sacrifices of king Mayuravarma.[2] The same number of Brahmans in in Talgunda is repeated in A.D. 1107.[3] They are called 32,000 Brahmans of Sthanagudha in A.D. 1158.[4]

A more rational account of the Brahman migration from Ahicchatra is given in an inscription dated A.D. 1162, which relates that among the ornaments of the world was the *agrahāra* of Ahicchatra in the north. The Ganga kings having gone there in the course of a victorious expedition, brought from it fifty chief Brahmans for the increase of their own fortune.[1'']

This is the only statement in inscriptions upon which some reliance may be placed. Rice, while editing it, remarked that " perhaps Gangas is a mistake for Kadambas."[6] It does not seem to be so. Epi-

1. *Ibid,* Sk.47, p. 50; see also Sk. 46 dated A.D. 1068 for the name Gauja, p. 50.
2. *E.* C VII., Sk. T/8, p. 115.
3. *Ibid,* Sk. 192, p. 122.
4. *Ibid,* Sk. 185, p. 118.
5. *Ibid,* IV. Hs. 137, p. 97.
6. I*bid,* Intr. p. 21.

graphical evidence confirms the above statement that the Ganga kings were associated with Ahicchatra. Thus it is said in an inscription dated A.D. 1122 that Ahicchatra was the capital of the Ganga king Yiṣṇu-gupta.[1] King Viṣnugupta's dates, it must be confessed, are not ascertainable for the present. He was one ol the earliest Ganga rulers, when the Ganga family had not yet arrived at Ganga Perūr in the Cudappah district.[2] Ahicchatra was rechristened Vijayapura by Priyabandhu, or Priyabandhuvarma Devendra, one of the Ganga rulers who came after king Visnugupta.3

The reason why Rice is more inclined to accept the story of the Kadambas having introduced Brahmans from Ahicchatra, is due perhaps to the fact that in the inscriptions we have already cited, and in those to be mentioned presently, the Kadambas are said to have brought the Brahmans from that northern centre. Thus in a record assigned to *circa* A.D. 1200, which describes the greatness of the *agrahāra* of Sthānagūḍha, in the beautiful Kuntala country, we have the following:— The king of which, the lord of Banavase and of many other countries, Mukkaṇṇa Kadamba (his praise given) seeking with desire in the region of the south ( *daksina-patha* ) for the tribe of Brahmans ( *vipra-kula* ), not finding any, without delay went forth, and doing worship to the Ahicchatra *agrahara,* succeeded in obtaining

1. *E.* C, VII. Sh. 4, pp. 4-5.
2. Rice, *Mys, & Coorg.,* pp. 30-31.
3. *Ibid,* p. 30.

tnirty-two Brahman families purified by 12,000 *agnihotras,* whom sending before him he brought and established in the outskirts of the city ( *Sthānagūḍha-purada poraoolal ent-ene* ) in the great *agrahāra* of Sthānagūḍha which he had founded in the tract he had noted (its praise ).[1]

The number thirty-two relating to the Brahmans given in the Tuḷu *Grāmapaddhati* agrees very well with that given in the above inscription. Likewise the statement that Mayūravarmā not finding Brahmans in the south, went to the north to get orthodox families, coincides with that given in the above Tuḷu work. We shall see that the number thirty-two is also mentioned in another epigraph to be cited presently.

Meanwhile we may continue to cite references to the Ahicchatra Brahmans in the epigraphs of the latter half of the twelfth and in those of the thirteenth centuries. The Drāviḷadeśa Periyanda Hebbāruva and other Brahmans of the immemorial *agrahāra* Kojḷinganahaṭṭa are said in an inscription dated about A.D.1185, to have been "connected with Ahicchatra"[2].

Even the Nānā De6is are called Lords of Ahicchatrapura in a record dated A.D. 1267.[3]

Before passing on to the question of the date of that part of the *Grāmapaddhati* relating to Mayūravarmā and Ahicchatra, the location of Ahicchatra may be

1. *E.* C.VII.Sk. 186, p. 121.
2. *Ibid,* HI. 91, p. 170.
3. *Ibid,IX.DB.* 31, p. 67.

determined. According to Gerini, Ptolemy's Adeisaga ( Adisadra ) may be a clumsy rendering of Ahicchatra or Ahikṣetra, the name of the ancient capital of Uttara Pañcāla, north of the Ganges.[1] Cunningham had identified it with the modern Ahicchatur, eighteen miles west of Bareilly, and seven miles north of Anola.[1] Others, however, have identified it with Ramnagar, twenty miles west of Bareilly in Rohilkand, the name Ahicchatra being confined to the great fortress in the lands of Alampurkot and Nasratganj.[3]

## 6. HISTORICITY OF THE FAMILIES MENTIONED IN THE GRAMAPADDHATI

Some of the families mentioned in the *Grāmapaddhati* can lay claims to antiquity. It may be observed here that the *Grāmapaddhati* does not contain an exhaustive list of all the ancient families of ancient Tuḷuva. Thus, for instance, it does not speak of the household called the Bhaṭṭitilla which, we have already narrated, figures in a record dated Saka 1312 ( A.D.1390-91) found at Tiruvaila in the Mangalore tāluka. The management of the *sarvamānya* gift

1. Gerini, *Researches into Ptolemy,* p. 747.

2. Cunningham, *Archl. Survey oj India,* I. pp. 255-7. Pargiter follows him. Mark. *Pur.* p. 353 (n)."

3. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India,* pp. 2-3. (2nd ed.) Mr. Hanhar Trivedi accepts this identification and rejects Mr. Jwala Sahay Mishra's identification of the same with the modern village of Ariora which lies a little north of the village of Bhadur in Patiala. *Indian Culture,* I. pp. 253-4. Ahicchatra, it may be noted in passing, is one of the diamond centres mentioned by Kautalya. *Arthasastra,* p. 85 (Sastry, 1923).

already described was to be vested in the hereditary charge of the members of the Bhaṭṭiṭilla family. But the *Gramapaddhati* speaks of the Naḍvattillāya or Naḍvattilla, Mūḍanttilla or Mūḍanttillāya, Koḍittillāya or Koḍittilla, and various other families.

A few of the prominent families mentioned in the *Gramapaddhati*, and in one instance, a local deity as well, have figured in Tuḷuva inscriptions. These were the god Mārkaṇḍeśvara of Bārakūru, and the families of the Hoḷḷas, the Handes, the Mayyas, the Kārantas, and the Mūḍila Niḍambūru Balḷāḷas. We have seen that it was the Ṛṣi Mārkaṇḍeśvara who had advised the two sons of Maṇivarma of Bārakūru in regard to the procedure that was to be adopted to get the throne of that kingdom. Tradition relates that Bārakūru was originally the *āśrama* of Mārkaṇḍeya. This is borne out by a stone inscription dated Saka 1347 (A.D. 1425-6) which informs us that the god Paiicalinga belonged to Mārkaṇḍeśvara the original (patron saint?) of the street called Koṭekeri of Bārakuru *(a Bārakuru koṭeya keriya mūlasthāna Mārkaṇḍeśvara da Pañcalinga-devara sanmdhiyalli...*[1] *)*

Turning to the families we find that all the following belonged to the Kōṭa *grama*—the Hoḷḷas, the Mayyas, the Kārantas, and the Handes, while the Mūḍila Niḍambūru family hailed from the Uḍipi tāluka. Viṣṇu Hoḷja and Vāsudeva Hoḷḷa, sons of Nāraṇa (Nārāyaṇa) Hoḷḷa, are mentioned in an inscription dated Saka 1301

1. *180 of* 7907, 5. /. *I.* VII. No. 385, p. 240.

(A.D. 1379-80) recording a grant to the Somesvara temple at Mūḍukēṛi in Bārakūru. This was in the reign of the Vijayanagara ruler Harihara Raya II.[1] The Mayyas figure in an inscriptian dated Saka 1359 (A.D. 1437-8). It relates that when Aṇṇappa Oḍeyar was the viceroy over Bārakūru in the times of the Vijayanagara Emperor Deva Raya II, a grant was made to the Somanātha temple at Maṇigārakēṛi in Barakuru by a number of Settis together with the following members of the Mayya family:—Mādhava Mayya's son Kṛsna and Narayaṇa; Kṛsnayya's son Vāsudeva Mayya; Koyakura Vāsudeva Mayya's son Kṛsna Mayya *(Manavura olage Manaura devara Mādhava Mayyana makkalu Kṛsnanu Narayananu Kṛsnayyana maga Vasteva Mayyanu Koyakura Vasteva Mayyana maga Kṛsna Mayyanu otti barada sila sasanada kramavent-endare).*[2] This clearly proves that the members of the Mayya as well as those of the Holla families were cited as witnesses to public grants made by the prominent citizens of Barakuru in the first half of the fifteenth century A.D.

The same may be said of another well known family-that of the Karantas. Another stone inscription found also in the Somanatha temple at Manigarakeri in Barakuru, dated Saka 131 (6) (A.D. 1394-5), mentions Sankara Ōḍeyar as viceroy over Barakuru in the reign of the Vijayanagara king Harihara Raya II. It records a grant made by Kesava Nayaka, son of Vijava

1. 726 *of 1901* ; *S. I. I.* VII. No. 316, p. 166.
2. *168 F of 1901*; S. I.I. VII. No. 372, p. 226,

Nāyaka, to the god Somanātha. Among the witnesses to the grant are the following:—Govinda Kāranta, son of Keśava Kāranta ; Nārāyana Kāranta, son of Haṇḍana Viṣṇu Kāranta of the western house ; Mayijaṇṇa, son of Teji Bhaṭṭayya ; Dharaṇi Seṭṭi, son of Koṭiyapa Seṭṭi and others ( *Ke'sava Kārantana maga Govinda Karanta paḍuva maneya Haṇḍana Viṣṇu Kārantana maga Naraṇa Karanta Teji Bhaṭṭayyanavara maga Mayijaṇṇanaru Koṭiyapa S'ettiya maga Dharaṇi S'etṭi).*[1] In a record with characters of the same age a son of Haṇḍa Kṛṣṇa Kāranta is mentioned. The date of this record cannot be determined.[3] We may recall here that in an epigraph dated A.D. 1437-8 cited above, concerning the Mayyas, a Krsna Karanta is mentioned.[3]

The Handes are spoken of in a grant dated only in the cyclic year Srīmukha, made to the god Somanātha, evidentaly of the same locality referred to above. No ruler or overlord is mentioned in this epigraph. It registers a grant by Sankara Hande, son of Dēmaṇa, in the presence of the *halaru* or citizens of Maṇigārakēṛi in Bārakūru ( *Handeṭina Dēmaṇa Handeya maga S'ankara Handeyaru...)**

Two prominent families may also be mentioned here. Thes were the Citṛpādi and the Niḍambūru households of the Uḍipi tāluka. Uke the families of Kōṭa which we have described above, the Citṛpāḍi

**1-2.** ***159of 1901*; *S.I.I.* VII. No. 356, pp. 213-214, and *ibid,* n. (1).**
**3.** ***168 F of 1901,* op. cit.**
**4.** ***161 of 1901, S. I.* /. VII. No. 359, p. 210.**

and the Niḍambūru families wielded considerable influence in their own locality. In the *Gmmapaddhati,* as we have already remarked, these two families are called the Pakṣanāthas. The Citṭupāḍi or Citṭupāḍi family representatives are mentioned in a record dated Saka 1398 ( A.D. 1476-7), of the times of the Vijayanagara king Virūpākṣa Rāya II.[1] The earliest reference to the other family of Niḍambūru as given in a record dated A.D. 1281, has already been adverted to in an earlier context. In a later stone epigraph dated Saka 1317 ( A.D. 1395-6) of the reign of the Vijayanagara king Harihara Rāya II, found in the Uḍipi Śrīkṛṣṇa *matha* , it is called *Muḍela Niḍambura.* It locates the *maṭha* of the god Kṛṣna thus:—*S'ivaḷiya Muḍela Niḍambūra gramada madhyada Uḍipina sthānada S'rl Kṛa (kṛ) ṣṇa-devarige.* This was when the Vijayanagara viceroy Saṅkara Oḍeyar was ruling from Bārakūru.[2] In A.D. 1399-1400, as narrated in a record already cited above, when the Vijayanagara viceroy was the *Mahāpradhāna* Nāgarasa Oḍeyar, the *Māḍila Niḍaṁbūraru* were one of the parties to whom the viceroy gave the gift[3].

The importance of this well known family is seen not only in the above records but also in the following which clearly demonstrates that the Nidaṁbūru *grāmastharu* were citizens of much consequence. A defaced inscription found in the Uḍipi Śrīkṛṣṇa *maṭha* of the reign of Harihara Rāya II, ends thus:—*Vidyādhi (Rā)ja*

1. *39 of 1901, S. 1.1.* VII. No. 209, p. 105.
2. *112 of 1901; S. I. I.* VII. No. 299, p. 151.
3. *154 C of 1901,* op. cit.

*Tirtha S'ripadangalu Harihara Rayana kayyalu madida dharma S'ri-Vira Harihara Rāyara voppa Śrl-Virūpākṣa-devaru S'ivaliya Muḍila Niḍambūra gramada voppa Uḍupina S'ri-Mahadevaru Koṇḍavaravara voppa Konat a-ḍevaru.*[1] **Another** stone inscription found in the same famous *maṭha,* and assignable to the same reign, ends in a similar manner, **thus:—***S'ri-Harihararayara kayyalu madida dharmma S'ri-Vira Harihararayara voppa S'ri Virupaksadevaru S'iva* liya Muḍiilavaru Niḍambūru gramada voppa Uḍupina S'ri-Mahadcvaru Saguriya Kunjatavana Naduvanti anavarta Devaliya devaru Banninjada adhivasada jananigala voppa taleḳuḍe devaru Koḍavura jananigala voppa Kanada (Kananat) Sankaranarayana ḍevara voppa...*[2] **These epigraphs conclusively** prove that the presence of the Niḍaṁbūru representatives was necessary when an official grant was made. This refers of course to the affairs in Uḍipi alone.

Of the witnesses mentioned in the above grants, a word may be said of the god Virūpāksa. This name refers to the deity which is said to have been in the Liṅgāyata *maṭha* in that quarter of the modern Uḍipi town which is called Māruthivīthikā. The entire locality of Mārutivīthikā and its neighbourhood is said to have been the property of the god Virūpākṣa whose temple is incorporated in the Lingāyata *maṭha.* It is still know7n as *Virupaksa-kumeri* among the people. It is said that a great part of Udipi comprised the *Virupaksa-*

1. *115 of 1901*; *S. I.* J. V I I. No. 303, pp. 115-116.
2. *777* of *1901*; *S. I.* J. V I I. No. 298, pp. 150-51.

*humēri.* The probability seems to be that this was a very ancient temple about which unfortunately nothing is available in epigraphs or literature.

## 7. CRITICISM OF THE GRAMAPADDHATI AND ITS DATE

The *Grāmapaddhati,* no doubt, is defective, even as a traditional account of the village organization. But all the same it is very useful for the history of Tuḷuva. The following may be said against it:—

(1) It is lacking in uniformity. Thus, in one version Mayūravarmā is introduced abruptly ; while in others his parentage is given. In some he is made the son of Maṇivarmā ; in others the son of Sūśīla and Hemāṅgada.[1] But in some versions, Hemāṅgada is described to be issueless.[2] In otner accounts, Viravarmā is said to have become Mayūravarmā.[3] This is not mentioned in other versions.

(2) The *Grāmapaddhati* contains statements which, even on the strength of Tuḷuva tradition, cannot be accepted. Thus, in one version the ministers, who go in search of a ruler, are described to have proceeded to northern Vārakūḷa (/. *e.* Bārakūru ).[4] But this is clearly inadmissible, since there never existed northern and southern Bārakūru.

(3) The *Grāmapaddhati* is uniformly represented to be a portion of the *Sahyadri-kāṇḍa* of the *Skānda Purāṇa.*

1. *The Puttige version.*
2-3. Hegde, *Cavite,* pp. 71, 74.
4. *Ibid,* p. 71.

This detracts its value as a piece of independent historical work.

Neverthless, the *Grāmapaddhati* is a source which cannot be dismissed as an instance of Brahmanical fabrication. Almost all the *grāmas* and many of the households mentioned in it exist today. The historicity of some of the prominent families has already been proved. Down to our own times, the *Grāmapaddhati* has always been referred to as a work of great authority, especially in deciding questions concerning the society of the Tuḷu Brahmans.

The few details we have enumerated above, enable us to determine the date of the *Grāmapaddhati.* That the composers of *Grāmapaddhati* are, on the whole, chronologically unreliable is evident from the following considerations:—In one passage in the Mangalore version, it is related that at the end of the reign of Jayaṅtika Kadamba Rāya in Kali 1605 came Mayūravarmā. In a later passage in the same version, the distribution of the *grāmas* by Mayūravarmā is dated in 1731 Vikṛta Saṁvatsara which is evidently an error for Kali 1731 ! And still further down in the same narrative Citrāṅgada is placed in Kali 1653 ! And the absurdity of the account is seen when in the same narrative the successors of Cantrangada (i. e., Citrangada ) were eleven kings, all of whom ruled before the beginning of the Śālivāhana era!

For historical purposes, therefore, the above details are worthless. We have to rely on other intrinsic

evidence supplied in the *Grāmapaddhati* in order to find out its probable date. From the Buddhist parallel of the story of the peacock given above, it seems as if we are to trace the origin of the legend to an earlier Buddhist source. The prominence given to Mayūravarmā in the *Grāmapaddhati* suggests that the upper limit of the story may be placed in the third century A.D. But we have shown that the story of the distribution of the *grāmas* was not current till the middle of the fifth century A.D. The *Grāmapaddhati*, therefore, has to be assigned to a later age. A rapid survey of some of the historical notices in that work enables us to assert the following concerning its date:—

(1) The *Grāmapaddhati* mentions a controversy between Sankarācārya and Maṇḍana Paṇḍita.[1] In another version of the same work, we are told that Mayūravarmā on the advice of Ṛṣi Mārkaṇḍeya, built temples the ceremonies and ritual of which were conducted according to Sankarācārya's injunctions.[2] These statements are enough to prove that the *Grāmapaddhati* was composed after the times of Sankarācārya. It must be admitted that the date of the great reformer is not yet settled. Neverthless, even if we place Sankarācārya in the middle of the eighth century A.D. or thereabouts,

1. **The *Puttige version* in which is incorporated a chapter called *Ahicchatra paddhati*. In all we have about 270 verses dealing with Sankaracarya. B. A. S.**

2. **Hegde, *Cavite*, pp. 83-84.**

the date of the *Grāmapaddhati* which mentions him is brought lower still.[1]

(2) The *Grāmapāddhati* contains the statement that Jainism was spreading in Bārakūru, and that the Jainas were in a majority in that city.[2] As we shall see in the next chapter, the advent of Jainism into Tuḷuva cannot be dated earlier than the ninth century A.D. Therefore, the *Grāmapaddhati* which mentions the above and other notices of Jainism. could have been composed only after the introduction of Jainism in Tuḷuva. That is to say, the *Grāmapaddhati* is to be assigned to the tenth century A.D.

(3) The *Grāmapaddhati* speaks of Barahakanyāpura. From the discussion centering round that name as

1. On Sankarācārya's date, read T. R. Chintamani, *IHQ.* I I I . p. 39 seq. where Śankara is placed in the latter half of the seventh. century A.D. Swamikannu Pillai fixea[1] Śankara's birth in A.D. 805. Swamikannu referred to in the *Mys. Arch. Rept.* for 1928, p. 152 Dr. Shama Sastry opines that Śankara's death took place in Śaka 74 (A.D. 820). *Proceedings of All India Or. Conf.* I I I . p. 225. Mr. S. V' Venkatesvara places Śankara in the ninth century A.D. /. *A.* XLIV., p. 164. If Balavarma's contemporaneity with Śankara is granted, then, Dr. Sastry's calculation may be accepted as valid. Balavarma is placed in A.D. 812. *Mys. Arch. Rept.* for 1909, paras 46 and 53 ; *ibid* for 1910-11, p. 37. There is also a Balavarma who was the father of Yasovarma and grand-father of Vinayaditya who is known by a record dated Saka 735 (A.D. 813-4). *I. A.* X I I . pp. 11-13. Another Balavarma is assigned to *circa* A.D. 750. *E. C.* X I I . Mi. 93, p. 113. B. A. S.

2. The *Grāmapaddhati* speaks of a dispute between the Jainas and the Brahmans in the city of Bārakūru. Hegde, *Carite,* pp. 76, 78, 99.

3. *Ibid,* p. 73. The *Puttige version* deals at some length with a ruler called Arhat, and mentions a Jaina ruler called Jinendra. The *Ahicchatra-'paddhati* also refers to the dispute between the Jainas and the Brahmans. B. A. S.

given in the earlier pages of this treatise, it must have been apparent to the reader that the form Bārahaknyā-pura came into vogue only in the tenth century A.D* Therefore, the *Grāmapaddhati* which so often mentions Bārahakanyapura, and which, as will be explained in connection with the history of Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya, even ventures to give a derivation of that particular form of the name, could only have been written in the tenth century A.D., or later.

(4) The Puttige version, as we have already seen, mentions a king named Vasu whom we have identified with the Alupa king Vibudhavasu, who ruled in A.D. 1244-5. It is evident from this that the *Grāmapaddhati* must have been written after the times of king Vibudha-vasu. In other words, it could not have been written earlier than the middle of the thirteenth century A.D.

(5) The Puttige version describes a Madhva ascetic who was probably the celebrated Madhvācārya himself, and the manner in which the Vaiṣṇavites con-verted people into their fold. These details will be presently narrated. The date of the great Vaiṣṇava teacher will be discussed in the next chapter. In the meanwhile, we may note that the *Gramapaddhati* which describes a great Madhva sage belonged to the age of the renowned Madhva himself, *i.e.,* from the middle of the thirteenth to the beginning of the fourteenth cen-turies A.D., or to a later age.

(6) The *Grāmapaddhati* maintains that the two Paksanathas were, as we have already seen, Citupadi

and Niḍaṁbūru. The earliest historical reference to the Niḍamburu household called Mūḍila Niḍambūru, as we have also observed, is in the last quarter of the thirteenth century A. D. The *Grāmapaddhati* which speaks of the greatness of the Niḍambūru family could only have belonged to the latter part of the thirteenth century A.D.

(7) The most decisive test which determines the date of the *Grāmapaddhati* is the following:— It describes the judicial procedure in the court of a ruler called Vīra Bhūpa. This was no other than the Vijayanagara viceroy Vīra Bhūpati, son of Yuva Bukka and grandson of Harihara Raya II. From independent epigraphical evidence we know that he was placed over one of the cities in the Karnāṭaka in A.D. 1386.[1] Since the *Grāmapaddhati* describes the judicial procedure in the provincial capital of Vīra Bhūpati, we may definitely assign the composition of Tuḷu work, which

1. Vira Bhūpati, son of Yuva Bukka and grandson of Harihara Rāya II, mentioned in a record of A.D. 1386 (*E.* C. X I. Mk. 31, p. 95 ; Saletore, *S. P. Life,* I. p. 196), and again in a later inscription dated A.D. 1400. (*Ep. Rept. of the S. Circle* for 1913, p. 75). It was during his time that Caudapa composed his *Prayagaratnamala.* (Aiyangar, *The Sources of Vijayanagara History,* pp. 54-55, Rama Rao, *I.H.Q.,* X. p. 802)). This Vīra Bhūpati is not to be confounded with Vira Bhupati Odeyar, son of Deva Raja ODeyar, who was placed as Viceroy over the Chingleput district and its neighbourhood. Of the second Vira Bhūpati we have likewise two records (Cf. Saletore, *ibid,* I, p. 277, II. p. 293). The judicial procedure referred to here will be discussed in a separate paper. B. A. S.

may have incorporated matter of earlier times, to the latter half of the fourteenth century A.D.[1]

## 8. THE STORY OF BHUTAḶA PAṆḌYA AND THE AḶIYA SANTANA KAṬṬU

We have narrated the events till the days of Candrangada, as given in the *Grāmapaddhati*. We shall now relate a few more incidents that took place after Candrāṅgada till the appearance of Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya of Tuḷuva tradition. Ninth in descent from Candrāngada, according to one version, was Angaravarmā whose son was Vīravarmā. This prince while out a-hunting was cursed by Ṛṣi Koṭaśādri ( Ṛṣi on the Koṭdsādri ?) for having killed the latter's deer. Vīravarmā together with his attendants was burnt to death, while he was ascending the throne at Bārakūru.

Here come a series of events connecting Tuḷuva with the Pāṇḍyadeśa in the south. A brief resumé of these incidents is essential before we pass on to the question of the historicity of Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya. In the Pāṇḍyadeśa there lived a ruler called Jaya Pāṇḍya, who had four sons—Agniketu, Sikhiketu, Sivarma( Sivavarmā ?) and Bhūta Pāṇḍya. The last named worshipped a spirit

1. This explains why the *Grāmapaddhati* calls Udayāvara merely a village *(grama)*. The reason is obvious : on the decline of she Alupas as a ruling power, as we have already shown, the original capital Udayāvara sank into insignificance, and Barakūru and Marigaluru took its place. Of these Barakuru continued to be the capital of Tuḷuva down to the days of the occupation of the district by the British. B. A. S.

called Kuṇḍodara. The eldest Agniketu succeeded to his father's throne, and was followed by Agniketu's eldest son Saumyavīra Pāṇḍya. The latter's minister was Subuddhi. Candrāṅgada ( of Tuḷuva ? ) hearing of the helpless condition in which the Pāṇḍyadeśa was placed, twice imaded the country; and although worsted in his first attempt, yet succeeded in routing Saumyavīra Pāṇḍya. On this the latter fled with his wife called SatyavatI and his five year old boy called Jaya Pāṇḍya, to a village named Sukha.

Meanwhile, Satyavatī's brother Deva Pāṇḍya had failed to persuade his wife Siva Devī to sacrifice one of his sons as an offering to the spirit Kuṇḍodara which had made its abode in a gallant vessel he had built for trading with the southern seas. SatyavatI hearing that De\a Pāṇḍya was in a pitiable condition, left the village of Sukha with her child Jaya, and meeting her brother, offered Jaya as a sacrifice to Kuṇḍodara. Being pleased with Satyavatī's earnestness and piety, Kuṇḍodara led the boy Jaya to Vārakūla (which is supposed to have been the name of Bārakūru), where it destroyed the family of the ruler of that kingdom named Siddheśvaravarmā. Here the spirit made the state-elephant garland Jaya Pāṇḍya. But not being satisfied with the Bārakūru throne, Kuṇḍodara went to Ujjain from where it brought Vikramāditya's throne and placed Jaya Pāṇḍya on it christening him Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya. This event, according to some versions of the *Gramapaddhati* , took place in Salivahana Saka 1, Bahu-

dhānya samvatsara Maṅgb Suddha Tratiya Vṛgabha *lagna.*[1]

Another version of the *Grāma pad dhaii* narrates that after the extinction of the Kadamba line, the Karnāṭaka dynasty appeared in Saka 705 (A.D. 773-4). When Cakravartin Vikramānkadeva died, in his line appeard Vīra Pāṇḍya whose son was Bhūta Pāṇḍya who was made king of Bārakūru by the spirit Kuṇḍodara. Bhūta Pāṇḍya's son was Vidyutjimha whose three sons ruled over Bārakūru. They were succeeded by Vira Sena who died issueless in Saka 1100. This afforded an opportunity to Pāṇḍya, a Sūdra, to seize Bārakūru. But the patron spirit of that city called Bhūtanātha, evidently the same as Kuṇḍodara mentioned above, craved for a human sacrifice at the hands of Pāṇḍya. His wife refused to give up her son. But his sister agreed to do so. Pāṇḍya then ruled over Bārakūru and eventually married twelve Jaina princesses. In honour of these twelve Jaina princesses, the city was named Barahakanyāpura. These twelve princesses gave birth to twelve sons-Tolāra, Cauṭa, Sāvanta, Baṅga, Ajila, Komṇa, Dambi, Kumbaḷa, Binnāṇa, Heggaḍe, Mudya and Kunda.

After Pāṇḍya reigned his sister's son Baddadāsa. This ruler rechristened Sanesvara as Bainduru. He appointed Nāḍavars (/. *e.*, Buṇṭs) as the tenants of the Brahmans. His sister's daughter named Haḷḷi reigned

1. Hegde, *Carite,* pp. 103-135.

after him. It was during her time that the Nāḍavars claimed proprietary rights of the soil situated near Brahmāvuru. This seems to have been acceeded to, according to the Mangalore version of the *Grāma-paddhati,* but lands in Kōṭa, Kandāvara and Sivaḷḷi remained strictly in the hands of the Brahmans.[1] The Vijayanagara rulers are then suddenly introduced in Saka 1150 (A.D. 1228).'

A third version of the story relates the following : Kadamba Rāya gave his sister in marriage to Lokāditya after going over to Gokarṇa. He killed Hubāśika, also called Hubbadiga, Habāsiga, and Hebasi, a wicked chieftain of the mountains, and then created Hayva, Tuluva, and Malayaja. This was in Kali 1689.[3] But

1-2. *The Mangalore version.*

**3. This Hubāsiga was, according to tradition, a Koragar chieftain. The Koragars belong to the larger group of wild tribes described by us elsewhere. Some represent him as coming from Anantapur. (J. A. I I I . p. 196). The following is the account of the Koragar chieftain :—When Lokāditya, who was assigned to B. C. 1450 by Wilks, was king of Banavase, an invader by name or Hubāśika overran that country with an army of Cāṇḍālas, and marched southwards to Mangaḷuru in Tujuva. Here however his army was scouraged by small-pox at which he moved on to MafijeSvara to the south of Mangalore. Hubāśiga subdued here the local ruler named Angaravarmā, son of Viravarmā, and reigned there in conjunction with his nephew for twelve years. Then both died. According to one legend, they died through the enchantments of Angaravarmā; while another asserts that a neighbouring ruler treacherously proposed a marriage alliance between his sister and Hubāśika, and when the latter and his tribe attended the nuptials, effected their wholesale massacre. Aṅgaravarma then drove the invaders into the jungles where they were reduced to such an extremity that they consented to become slaves and were apportioned among the Brahmans and other landowners. But the**

Candrāngada, son of Mayūravarmā, won a victory over Lokāditya, recovered his ancestral dominions, and re-established the Ahicchatra Brahmans in the thirty-two *grāmas.*

Candrangada next undertook an invasion of the Pāṇḍya land in retaliation to the invasion of Bārakūru by Bhuta Pandya in the times of Candrangada's grandfather Hemāngada. Candrāngada succeeded in his venture, and brought as captive, among others, a woman named Pommaḍaya with her eleven children. He landed in the harbour of Udayavara, which is called a *grāma.* The captives from the Pāṇḍyadeśa were re-christened thus: Mavana, Deīra, Caīru, Malli, Bambari, Cori, Paḍirāḷu, Mittara, Cavuṭa, Kōra, Cara, Kambaḷi, Cūra, Hōli, Heggaḍe, Kañcuna, Bhaṇḍāri, Sāvanta, Hali, Kaṭi and Khiri (or Bhiri). These were to serve the Brahmans of the thirty-two *grāmas* as servants.

**Koragars, whom Hubāśika had raised to the highest posts under him, were stripped and driven to the seashore there to be hanged. But being ashamed of their naked condition, they gathered the leaves of the nicki bush *(Vitex Negunda),* and made coverings for themselves in front. On this the executioners took pity on them and let them go, but condemned them to be the lowest of the low and wear no other covering but leaves. Walhouse cited by Thurston, *Castts and Tribes of Southern India,* III, pp. 427-428. There cannot be any doubt that the Koragars were in some manner associated with proprietary rights of the soil, and perhaps even with some governmental functions, long before the Alupas became the rulers of Tujuva. It is also probable that the Koragars were addicted to warfare. But the above story is an invention of later times. The Koragars were but a branch of the Parṇa-Sabaras of Indian history. The name Habbusika, it may also be noted, is given to Abyssinia. *E. C.* IV. Intr. 31, Yd. 54, p. 60.**

The dynasty of Candrāngada became extinct in the Kali year 3884. Then in the line of Vikramārka of Karnāṭaka was born Vîra Pāṇḍya whose son was Bhūta Pāṇḍya. This version, it may be noted, uniformly gives the name Bhūta Pāṇḍya Rāya's progenitor as Vikramārka, whom it places in Ujjain. Bhūta Pāṇḍya died in Saka 1100. After him there appeared the chieftain Pāṇḍu of the Sūdra caste, who married twelve Jaina princesses after whom the city was called Barahakanyāpura. The reign of his sister's son Badda Dāsa follows and the names of the twelve princesses. In this version we have Mūla instead of Komṇa, Domba instead of Dombi, and Mudda instead of Mudya. In other details, this version agrees with the one given above.[1]

The most important fact in connection with Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya of Tuḷuva tradition is the law of inheritance through the females which he is said to have promulgated. This is known as the *aḷiya santāna kaṭṭu*, incorporating fourteen regulations called *hadināḷku kaṭṭu* and the sixteen rules called *hadināru kaṭṭalegaḷu.*

## 9. CRITICISM OF THE STORY OF BHUTAḶA PAṆḌYA AND AN EXAMINATION OF THE DATE OF THE INTRODUCTION OF THE AḶIYA SANTANA KATTU

Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya's name is held in great veneration by the Tuḷu people; the *aḷiya santāna kaṭṭu* governs a large section of the Tuḷuvas; and the fourteen regu-

1. *The Mangalore version,* pp. 72-78. Sturrock gives the story of Bhūtāla Pāṇḍya. *S.* C. *Manual* I. pp. 62-4, 140-3.

lations and the sixteen rules have controlled Tuḷuva society for ages.[1] These considerations compel us *Vo* examine the antiquity of the law called the *aḷiya sahtāna kaṭṭu* and of the fourteen regulations and the sixteen rules, and the historicty of Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya.

There is nothing to indicate in the epigraphs available that the fourteen regulations and the sixteen rules were current in the times of the Alupas. It is true that the term *kattḷale* appears in later inscriptions. Thus in a stone inscription dated Saka 1359 (A.D. 1437-8 ), of the times of the Vijayanagara monarch Pratāpa Deva Rāya I I , when Aṇṇappa Oḍeyar was the viceroy over Bārakūru, the people who followed the

1. But it is not to be imagined that the *aliya santana kattu* is universal, even among the Jainas. I am given to understand that it prevails only among the Jainas who are great landowners, *i.e.,* those who are the heirs to the rich feudal estates of the mediaeval times. But among the other Jainas, the *makkala santana* prevails. And even among the Jainas of the ruling class, the *makkaḷa santdna* governs the following *bldus* of Tuluva to-day (1935) : the Padubidre b*idu,* the Ermal *bidu,* the Iravatturu *bidu,* and the Dharmasthaja *bidu.* At Ermal. for instance, the late Mr. Laksmapa Maramma Hegde was succeeded by his son Kumarayya Maramma Hegde. Now, the younger brother of Mr. Kumarayya Maramma Hegoḍe, Mr. Nabhiraja Maramma llegḍe, is the head of the Ermal *biḍu.* After him the *biḍu* will pass to Mr. Kumarayya Maramma Hegde's son. Hence the distinction, seems to be the following :—On the whole, the *aliya santana* governs the Jaina royal classes, while the *makkala santana* governs the Jaina *jati.* An interesting example of a Jaina landowner who himself belonged to the *makkaḷa santdna,* but who succeeded to the property governed by the *aliya santdna* law, is that of the benevolent gentleman Mr. Raghucandra Ballaja of Maḍali (ManeJ in Tuju), an ex-M. L. C, who hails from the Iravatturu *bidu,* but owning the Malali estates. B. A. S.

ten regulations of the ten streets in Bārakūru are said to have appeased the representative of the Sivaḷḷi *grāma* on a particular connection ( *Bārakūru hattu kēri modalāda kattaleyavaru kudi S'ivalliya grama santaisuvalli...).*[1] This proves that the *kaṭṭus* and the *kaṭṭales* associated with the name of Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya were not current in ancient Tujuva, especially under the Alupas. We have, therefore, to suppose that these regulations came into vogue in later times.

From the three versions of the story of this remarkable hero of Tujuva legend given above, it must have been apparent to the reader that there was no uniformity in them ; and that so far as chronological data are concerned, no reliance can be placed on the story of the hero at all. It may be remembered here that while we have an account of that hero till his death in the Mangalore version, in the Puttige version no mention whatsoever is made of him. And even in the Mangalore version, the fourteen regulations and the sixteen rules are not mentioned. The omission of the name of Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya in one important (Puttige) version of the *Gramapaddhati,* and of the rules and regulations in other versions, is significant.

It may be argued here that the *Grāmapaddhati* and the Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya story are two different accounts ; and that the latter need not necessarily have been

1. *109 of 1901; S.* **I. I, VII. No. 2%, pp. 147-48.**

incorporated in the former.[1] But a code of regulations like that of Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya, affecting as it did the history of a large section of the Tuḷuva people, ought to have been at least alluded to in the traditional accounts of Tuḷuva, especially when these hailed from Kōṭa or from Uḍipi which were so near to Bārakūru, the alleged place of the origin of Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya. The contrary suggests that the story of the introduction of the *aljya sontana kattu* was not universal, and that it did not belong to the age in which the *Gramapaddhati* was composed.

That the Tuḷu people believed in the story of Bhūtāja Pāṇḍya, there cannot be any doubt. Indeed, Wilks informs us that one-sixth of the crop is the share which is said to have been exacted by the government of South Kanara from time immemorial until in A.D. 1252 when a nephew of the Pāndyan king, taking advantage of a civil war, invaded the country, in ships, and conquered it. But the invader, however, imposed on the conquered subjects the task of delivering the crop deprived of its husk in a state fit for food,

**1. Hegdc relates that Kōtegēn Subrāya Jyosá of Bārakūru had a copy of *Bhūtaḷa Pañdya Kattu* in 13 chapters, which Jyōsa explained to Hegde. *Catite,* Intr. p. iii. Mr. Govind Pai asserts that he has seen a paper copy of Bhūtāḷa Pāndya's history in modern characters. *Thuluva Mahasabha Annual,* p. 13. (Udipi, 1929). But while at Barakrūru on two different occasions in 1922 and then again in 1932, I failed to trace a copy of the *Bhuṭala Pandya Catite.* People maintain and believe that the original of this palmyra Ms. is buried under the image of Pancalingesvara in Barakuru. This is mere fiction as I came to know while in that temple. B. A. S.**

thereby increasing the revenue by about ten per cent, which is the estimated expense of this operation. This mode of payment continued until the establishment of a new government at Vijayanagara.[1]

In the note on the same page Wilks records the popular view that the Pāṇḍyan race had their capital at Madura; that this invader, from his wonderful success, is fabled to have been attended by an army of *demons-bhiitas-and* was hence called Bhūta Pāṇḍya Rāya ; and that he was the son of the king's sister, and from that circumstance is said to have established in the conquered country a law regarding descent in nephews by the sister's side.'

It is worth while to examine the historicity of this remarkable Tuḷuva hero whose story has survived down to our own days. At the outset it must be confessed that the peculiar law of inheritance through the female which Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya is said to have introduced into Tuḷuva, is common to Keraḷa as well as to other lands outside Tuḷuva.[H] This does not, however, prove its antiquity in Tuḷuva, nor the historicity of its alleged founder.

The internal evidence of the story of Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya together with that supplied in epigraphs and

**1-2. Wilks, *Historical Sketches of South India,* I. p. 152, and *ibid,* (n.).**

**3. Cf. *Manual of Administration in the Madras Presidency,* I I I . pi 477, seq.; G. Krishna Rao, *A Treatise on Aliya Santana Law and Usage,* p. 11; Burton, *Goa and the Blue Mountains,* p. 209, (London, 1851).**

tradition enables us to arrive at the following conclusions regarding the hero and his law:—

(a) All versions of the story call the capital Bārahakanyāpura. The marriage of the twelve Jaina princesses is connected with this name. We have conclusively shown that the form Barahakanyapura came into prominence only in the tenth century A.D.,'and that it was not the original name of the city at all. Since the legend mentions only the variant Bārahakanyāpura, the legend can be placed in the tenth century A.D., or after.

(b) The story of the Jaina princesses marrying the Bārakūru ruler strikingly recalls the offering of twelve princesses by Sugrlva to Rāma, as described by Abhinava Pampa in his *Rāmāyaṇa.*[1] It is likely that the Jaina conception of a ruler marrying at one and the same time twelve princesses travelled to Tuluva during the time of Abhinava Pampa, *i.e.,* about the twelfth century A.D. If this is accepted, the story of Bhūtāla Pāṇḍya may be assigned to the twelfth or the thirteenth century A.D.

(c) In one version of the story of Bhūtāla Pāṇḍya, it is said that he received the throne of Vikramāditya of Ujjain. But in two other versions he is described to have been born in the line of the Karnāṭaka king Vikramarka.[2] Evidently Vikramāditya refers to Vikra-

1. Abhinava Pampa, *Rāmāyaṇa,* X, w. 39-45, pp. 283-83. (Bangalore, 1892).

2. *The Mangalore vitsion.*

mārka, whose other name was Vikramāditya. Now, as we have already explained in a earlier context, this was no other than Vikramaṅka Deva Vikramāditya II, Tribhuvanamalla, who reigned from A.D. 1073 to about A.D. 1132-33, Therefore, on the strength of the internal evidence of the story itself, Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya can be placed only *after* the twelfth century A.D.

(d) The history of the descent among the Ālupas conclusively proves that the *aḷiya santāna kaṭṭu* could never have been legalized in Tuḷuva before the fourteenth century A.D. The history of the Ālupas as given in an earlier context may be recalled here. We hall select only three sets of descent in order to maintain our assertion that under the Alupas, till the end of the thirteenth century A.D., the succession was from father to son, and not in the sister's line from uncle to nephew. Thus, in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. Kundavarmarasa was succeeded by his son Guṇasāgara who was followed by his son Citravāhana I. From the first quarter till the last quarter of the eighth century A.D., we have Pṛthvīsāgara followed by Vijayādityarasa. The descent in the royal house from the last quarter of the eleventh century A.D. till the last quarter of the thirteenth century A.D , proves beyond doubt that the *aḷiya santāna kaṭṭu* never prevailed in the Alupa house. For Udayādityarasa ( last quarter of the eleventh century A.D. ) was succeeded by Bhujabala Kavi Alupendradeva, who was followed by Kula-

Sekhara Ahipendradeva I. The last named ruler was succeeded by Vīra Pāṇḍyaḍeva Alupendradeva I who was followed by Nāgadevarasa.

Since we cannot conceive of a law becoming popular and binding over a considerably large section of the people in ancient times without receiving royal support, and since there is nothing in the Alupa records till the days of king Nāgadevarasa ( A.D. 1292-A.D. 1298) even to suggest that the *aḷiya santana kattu* had been legalized by the rulers, we may assert that it was not in vogue either among the kings or people of Tuḷuva till the end of the thirteenth century A.D.

But two objections may be levelled against this conclusion:—

(i) Queens are represented as ruling over Bārakūru. Thus, the Pañcalingeśvara temple inscription found at Koṭekēri in Bārakūru, dated A.D. 1185, already cited above, affirms that the crowned queen Pāṇḍya Mahā Devī was ruling over the city of Pannirpaḷḷi.[1] This, however, is to be interpreted in the sense that that city formed the personal estate of the queen, or that she ruled jointly with the king Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Kavi Alupendradeva, whose long reign we have described in the previous pages.

(ii) AJiyas or nephews are prominently mentioned in the Alupa records. For instance, in two of the

1. *171 of 1901,* op. cit.

records found in the Mahālingeśvara temple at Kōṭa and at Brahmāvūru in the Uḍipi tāluka cited already, and both dated A.D. 1254, Vira Pāṇḍya Alupendradeva is described as ruling from Bārahakanyāpura, and issuing orders in the presence of Aḷiya Bankideva.[1] But this was an instance of mere corporate existence. It may be remembered here that *mayduna* (brother-in-law) Oḍḍama Deva was also present on these occasions. His presence on both the occasions precludes any idea of the king having showTn special favour to the latter's *aḷiya* or nephew7.

It is clear, therefore, that neither of the above objections is valid. It was only in A.D. 1444 that the *aḥya santāna kaṭṭu* received royal sanction at the hands of the Alupa king Kulasekhara Alupendradeva IV. Our assertion is based on the Kanara High School stone inscription dated only in the cyclic year Raktākṣi, but assignable on historical grounds to the reign of that ruler. The prominence given to Aḷiya Banki-deva is apparent not only from the opening lines of the epigraph which we have already cited, and which mention the nephew first and then the uncle (king Kulasekharadeva), but also from the manner of the ending of the inscription:—Thus the stone charter (was) engraved (and) given to Uncle Kulaśekhara Deva by the nephewrs Baṅkideva and Bammadeva. Success to Kulaśekharadeva ! *(yint-l dharmaṃ 'sila sasanangeyidu*

1. *509 of 1928-9* ; *485 of 1928-9,* **op. cit.**

*kotta māva Kula'sekhara DēVarge aljyandiru Baṅkidevaru Bamma devaru Kula'sekhara devarge mangala mahs-sri).*[1]

Epigraphical evidence from outside Tuḷuva amply justifies our assertion that it was only in the middle of the fifteenth century that the *ally a saṁtāna kaṭṭu* received royal recognition both in and outside Tuḷuva. This brings us to the discussion of the interesting question concerning the identity of the legendary personage Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya. In the eulcidation of this point we shall try to explain how the name and achievements of this figure got mixed up with the doings of historical persons about whom we have some records hailng from the Karnāṭaka.

Two *viragals* deal with a Pandya invasion of a part of the Karnāṭaka. One is dated A.D. 1292 of the times of Vīra Hoysala Ballāḷa III. It relates that in the Saka year 1213, Khara, on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of Māgha, Thursday (A.D. 1292, February the 1st), when Marakāla of the house of Samudra Pāṇḍya coming with his property and vehicles (*vastu-vāhana-sahitaṃ bandu*), demanded the Khaṇḍeya *agrahāra,*

1. *23 B of 1901,* op. cit. The assertion of Sturrock that it was in A.D. 1250 that the *aliya santana* law was promulgated is wrong. *S. C. Manual,* I. pp. 63-4. Likewise the attempts made by those who place Bhūtāja Pāṇḍya in B. C. 1 or A. D. 1. Read Govinda Pai, *Aliyakattiṇa prdcinate,* in the *Thulu Mahdsabha Annual,* pp. 4-19 (Udipi, 1929); Udayavara Narayana Achar, *Bhutala Pāṇḍya,* p, 1. (Mangalore, Dharma Prakasa Vacana Grantha Mālā, No. 13. No year); Satya Mitra Bangera, *Aliya Santana Kattada Guttu* (in the Kannada script but in the Tuḷu language), *Thulu Sahitya Male,* No. 3 (Udipi, 1930). Of these the last one is merely a farrago of ideas. B. A. S.

Kālala Deva's son Pāṇḍya Deva Mahādeva killed that Marakāla to bits, and seized his property and vehicles. For which Taligenāḍ and Devaligenāḍ rose, and marched against Pāṇḍya Deva Mahādeva. On a cavalry fight taking place in the Hunnūr river,...Canda Gauḍa slew Vīra Masaṇa, son of the tiger-tamer Masanitamma, who was the chief person in Devaligenāḍ, but died in the fight.[1]

Another *viragal* assigned to A.D. 1322 by Mr. Narasimhācārya, was found at Bāgavāḷu in the Holė-Narasīpura tāluka. This records the death of Singeya Daṇṇāyka, son of Vīra Ballāḷa Deva's sister's husband *(mayduna)* Someya Daṇṇayaka, in a battle between the Pāṇḍyan kings in the southern India. We are told that Singeya Daṇṇāyaka was in the service of Vīra Pāṇḍya of Kaṇṇānūru, and that in the battle that took place between Vīra Pāṇḍya on one side and his son Samudra Pāṇḍya and Parakala Pāṇḍya on the other hand, the former was put to rout, Singeya Daṇṇāyaka dying nobly in the fight.

Mr. Narasirhhācārya, we may identically note, commented thus on the above interesting epigraph:—"Parakala Pāṇḍya of this epigraph perhaps represents Parākrama Pāṇḍya whose inscriptions are dated in A.D. 1315 and onwards. Vira Pandya is said to have ruled from A.D. 1296 to 1342. No published record gives the name Samudra Pandya. It is not clear why Singeya

1. *E.C.* VI. Cm. 36, p. 38.

Daṇṇāyaka went all the way to Kaṇṇānūr to take service under Vīra Pāṇḍya."[1]

These interesting details give us the clue to the appreciation of the story of Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya. Both the *viragals* refer to the aggressive activities of the southern Pāṇḍyas. In the *vlragal* dated A.D. 1292, we have an expedition into the Karnāṭaka by an officer of Samudra Pāṇḍya; in that assigned to A.D. 1322, we have the death of a Karnāṭaka general in the service of Vīra Pāṇḍya who fought against Samudra Pāṇḍya. Now, we may remember that through Tuḷuva lay the safest approach to the Pāṇḍyan country along the coast. It is probable that the commotion caused by Marakāla in A.D. 1292 over the Ghats in the neighbourhood of Tuḷuva, passed into tradition and was converted by Tuḷuva writers into a story of *bhūtas* bringing in a Pāṇḍya from the southern country. The expedition into the Karnāṭaka and the subsequent help which Singeya Daṇṇāyaka gave Vira Pāṇḍya are probably the historical background of the expedition which legendary heroes like Candrāngada are alleged to have led into the

1. *Mys. Archl. Rept.* for 1912-1913, p. 41 ; /. *A.* XLIII. p. 227. Mr. Nilakantha Sastri is ignorant of these details pertaining to the help which the Karnātaka generals gave to the Pāṇḍya kings in the course of their civil wars. He mentions two civil wars : one in the reign of Vīra Pāṇḍya whom he places in the twelfth century A.D., the other in that of Vīra Pāṇḍya II in the troublesome days of Malik Kafūr's invasion. But nowhere is mention made of Samudra Pāṇḍya's *years*, and the aid given by the Karnāṭaka generals. Read, Ki'A. Nilakantha Sastri, *The Pandyan Kingdom*, pp. 134-36,138, 201-204. B. A. S.

Pandyadesa and the retaliatory measures which Bhuta Pāṇḍya assisted by the *bhūtas* led against Tuḷuva. Whatever that may be, it is enough to note that, barring Saḍaiyan's expedition against Mangaḷāpura of the Maraṭṭas, there is not the slightest reference to the Pāṇḍyan invasion of the Karnāṭaka, or its portions which lay within Tuḷuva, till the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century A.D. It may be that the story of Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya originated after the expedition of Singeya Dannayaka in *circa* A.D. 1322.[1]

Inscriptional evidence relating to centres outside Tuḷuva further corroborates our assertion that the *aḷya sahtāna kaṭṭu* received royal sanction only in the fifteenth century A.D. In A.D. 1403 under the regime of the Vijayanagara viceroy Viṭṭhaṇṇa Oḍeyar, the Heggaḍes of Menasur in Maḍyavaḍināḍ together with a number of other Heggaḍes and with all the people of Dānamūla, granted a stone *śāsana* of sale deed thus:—"Our Dānamūla Menāsūr and other villages (in all eleven named, together with their lands, other belongings and all rights of full possession), the people of Dānamūla and the aḷiya saṁtāna (or heirs in the female line) with one consent grant to those of the three cities of all the *nāḍs* of the (Araga) Eighteen Kaṁpaṇas; and say that those lands and measurements no more belong to Dānmūla."*

1. Purely Karnātaka legends have passed into Tuluva history. The story of Jakkaṇācārya is another example. I intend dealing with this in a separate paper. B. A. S.

2. *E.* C. V I. Kp. 51, p. 86; see also *ibid,* Kp. 53, pp. 87-88.

This generous sale-deed of the citizens of Dānamūla enables us to assert that the Vijayanagara Government had legalized the *aḷiya santāna kaṭṭu* within its Empire. But Dānamūla was not the only centre where that law prevailed. It governed also the royal descent in the well known Sāḷuva capital of Sangltpura which was situated in Tuḷuva. An inscription dated A.D. 1488 relates that Sangltpura was "a place ot descent in the female line" in the Tuḷuvadeśa.[1] Sangltapura was of course within the Vijayanagara Empire.

Another prominent city also within that Empire was Gērasoppe. Of the Soma-kfa (Lunar race ) rulers of that famous city, Sālva Malla was the greatest. He was one of the younger brothers of Bhairava, the others being Bhaira and Amba Kṣitīśa. After Sālva Malla came his sister's son Deva Rāya, then Deva Rāya's sister's son Saīva Malla, followed by Sālva Malta's younger brother Bhairavendra.[2]

A stone inscription found in Nāḍkalasi in the Sagar tāluka of the Shimoga district, Mysore State, dated December the 9th A.D. 1506, is of particular importance in this connection. It is valuable not only because it is one of the few inscriptions of the founder of the Keladi State, Cauḍappa Nāyaka, also called Cauḍa Gauḍa in this record, but also because it contains the interesting information that that ruler had legalized the *aḷiya*

1. *E. C,* VIII, Sa. 163, p. 123.
2. *Ibid,* Sa. 55, pp. 100-101.

*santana* law in his principality. For it tells us that a gift of land was made by *Eḍava Murāri* Kelaḍi Cauḍa Gauḍa to the children of Vīrapaiya, stone cutter *(kalukuḍiga)* of the village of Kalise. The stone charter enjoins that the gift of the above estate was to follow the rule of succession to males through females ( *Cauḍa Gauḍuru Kaliseya kalukuṭiga Virayaiyana makaḷige kota bhumi henni[n]da gandige mulavendu kota bhumi ).*[1] Where exactly Kelaḍi Cauḍapa's principality lay is not yet a settled point ; but that he was a feudatory of the Vijayanagara Emperor Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya the Great is well known. For our purpose, it may be observed that Cauḍapa Nāyaka had given due importance to the *aḷiya saṁtāna* law in the province under him.

To sum up:—(1) On purely historical grounds, it may be asserted that there was never a person called Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya in Tuḷuva, but that stories concerning the depradations of Pāṇḍyan agents gained currency in Tuḷuva resulting in a legend concerning an imaginary hero of the name Bhūtaḷa Pāṇḍya.

(2) The *aḷiya santāna* law, while no doubt may have been in vogue in lands outside Tuḷuva in the early centuries of the Christian era or before, was never legalized in Tuḷuva before the fifteenth century A.D.

(3) In Tuluva the *aliya santana kattu* received royal sanction under an Alupa ruler only in the first half of the fifteenth century (A.D. 1444) at the same time that it had received official recognition at the

1. *Mys. Arch. Rept.* for 1930, p. 219.

hands of the feudatories of the Vijayanagara Emperors elsewhere.[1]

1. We may dispense here with the Madras Government Epigraphist Mr. Venkoba Rao's theories concerning Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya. Accepting the tradition given in the S. C *Manual* as correct, Mr. Venkoba Rao connects it with a similar tradition current in the village Bhutappāṇḍi on the southern frontier of Travancore, concerning a ruler called Ollaiyur-tanda-Bhūtap Paṇḍiyan, "who conquered Ollaiyūr." Citing the evidence of the anthologies *Ahandnuru* and *Purandnuru,* Mr. Venkoba Rao maintains that this Bhutap Paṇḍiyaṇ "of the tradition emerges as a historical king assignable to the early centuries of the Christian era. If any reliance can be placed upon the tradition connecting this Bhutappaṇḍiyan's name with a South Kanara expedition also, the Paṇḍya interference in the west coast politics must be considersd as dating from a very early period." *Ep. Rept, of the Southern Circle* for 1926-7, p. 107. How Mr. Venkoba Rao came to connect the Bhutap Paṇḍiyan of Travancore with Bhutala Paṇḍya of Tuluva tradition, cannot be understood. All that can be said in regard to Mr. Venkoba Rao's statements is that they are merely conjectures. B. A. S.

## CHAPTER V

# RELIGION

*Summary* : — **1. Aboriginal faith: *kāta* worship-serpent worship-devil worship. 2. Buddhism : Satiyaputa not Tuḷuva-evidence of Buddhism in Tujuva: later tradition-existence of three Buddhists in the 19th century A.D.—Badda *Dasa-Rajavali kathe-sastavu kallu-mmes* of goddesses in Tujuva-names of towns—a great Buddhist monastery. 3. Faith of the Alupas : proof of the Saivite tendencies of the Alupa rulers from the earliest times-places of Saiva importance in Tuluva—the *Rajaguru* of the Alupa ruler Dattalpendradeva—the identification of Gagana Sivacarya—digression into the history of the Golaki *maṭha*—further proof of the Saivite religion of the Alupas till the last quarter of the fourteenth century A.D. 4. Jainism—introduction of Jainism into Tuḷuva.date : ninth century A.D. proof : traditional notices corroborated by historical evidence—centres of Jainism in Tuluva. 5. Vaisnavism: sketch history of the great preacher Madhva. His date—his works—his teachings—a description of Madhvācārya —Methods of conversion. 6. Bhāgavata Sāmpradāya.**

## 1. ABORIGINAL WORSHIP

Successive religious movements have no doubt affected the life of the Tuluvas, but they have failed to wipe out entirely the aboriginal faith of the early people who may be said to have been of non-Tuḷuva origin. We shall first deal with the interesting relics of the aboriginal faith, and, then, proceed to delineate a few details concerning the introduction and spread of the more advanced religions.

Aboriginal faith may be grouped under three heads: tree worship, serpent worship, and spirit or devil wor-

ship. Of these the last is the most famous. It is believed in by all sections except the Brahmans amongst whom, however, serpent worship is common. That particular form of tree worship called *kāta* worship is common among the Koragars about whom we have many interesting details.[1] It is believed that the Koragars celebrate the *kāta* worship beneath a *kasaracana* tree ( *Strychos Nux-vomica* ) in the months of May, July, or October. Two plantain leaves are placed on the spot, with a heap of boiled rice mixed with turmeric. As is usual in every ceremony observed by a Koragar, the senior in age takes the lead and prays to the deity to accept the offering and be satisfied.[3]

But this aboriginal belief has given place among the Koragars to a more popular faith which we may call devil or *bhūta* worship. The statement of Buchanan that the Koragars do not believe in spirits, but that they worship only a deity which they represent by a stone and to which they offer fowls, fruits, or grains as sacrifices,[3] is by no means accurate. For they believe in a spirit called Nīca which is not acknowledged by other people. Further, they are devout worshippers of Māri Ammā or Ammanavaru, the goddess presiding over smallpox, and the most dreaded form of Parvatī, the wife of Siva. She is propitiated by blood-thirsty rites.[4]

1. Buchanan, *A Journey*, I I I . p. 100; Raghavendra Rao, I. *A.* I I I . p. 197 ; Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, I I I . pp. 425-32.
2. J. *A.*, I I I . p. 196 ; Thurston, *ibid*, pp. 433-4.
3. Buchanan, *ibid*, I I I . p. 101.
4. Thurston, *ibid, Tribes*, I I I . p. 434.

Serpent worship takes the form of adoration of effigies of snakes *(nāgakallu),* placed at the foot of *pipul* free ( *nāga hana* ), especially on Nāgara Pañcami day, with milk, practically by all classes of people. These effigies are to be found all over the district. The most famous centres of serpent worship in Tuḷuva are Subrahmanya, Balḷamañje, Kadu-kukke, Kuḍupu, Mañjeśvara, Kāḷāvara, Katṭiṅgere, and Viṭṭhala. In the village of Arabi near Surālu in the Uḍipi tāluka and in Krimañjeśvara in the Kundāpuru tāluka are a quaint people called the Ḍakkes, or Vaidyas, as they are also known, who are reputed to be masters of the snake-lore. They administer to the superstitious needs of the lower classes on the occasions of what are known as the *nāga-maṇḍalas* and the *brahma-maṇḍaḷas,* But in most of the serpent centres the worship of Skānda Kārtikeya in the form of Subrahmaṇya on Mrgasirsa Suddha Sasthi, knowrn in Tuluva as Skanda Saṣṭhi, is conducted by the Brahmans.[1]

Devil or *bhūta* worship is extremely popular all over the district. The *bhūtas* are generally attendants on Siva, and are found in almost all temples in Tuḷuva. But in this treatise we shall be concerned with that form of the *bhūta* worship which is common among the Holeyas, the Pombadas, the Nalkes, the Paravas, the

**1. The statement made by some (Govmda Pai, *Karnata Sahitya Farisad, Itihasada Irulalli Tulnvanadu,* 1927, No. 13, p. 100 seq.) that the worship of Subrahmanya is represented by the sa*stavu* stones is incorrect. It will presently be seen that *sastavu* stones represent another religion altogether. B. A. S.**

Mogers, the Billavars, and the Bunts.[1] Some details about devil worship as gleaned from the Tuḷu Pāḍadānas[2] will be given in a subsequent chapter on the life of the Tuḷu people. Here we may note a tew features of devil worship as practised today in Tuḷuva. The most dreaded names of the *bhūtas* in Tuḷuva are Kalkuḍa and his sister Karluṭṭi, Bobbariye, and Koḍababbu. There is another name with which we are not concerned here - that of the powerful Aṇṇappa in the celebrated place of pilgrimage Dharmasthaḷa in the Puttūru tāluka. The fame of Kalkuḍa spread beyond the limits of Tuḷuva into Keraḷa where he is known as Cāṭu Kuṭṭi. Bobbariye is essentially a maritime *bhūta*, while Koḍadabbu is the patron deity of the Holeyas.

1. On the Paravas, read, Thurston, *Cartes & Tribes*, pp. 140-143. They are supposed to have some affinity with the Tamil Paravas, and to have belonged to the same stock as the famous sea voyagers of the times of king Solomon. But Thurston's statement that the Malayalm and Kanarese Paravars are descended from the Tamil Paravars, is babeless. On the other hand, if we are to give any credence to the tradition current among the Tamil Paravars of the Tamil land, which make them natives of Ayodhya and the land watered by the Jumna in ancient times, then, the truth seems to be that in the course of their migration southwards, they reached the Karnaṭaka and Tujuva first and the Tamil land afterwards. It is possible that the descendants of the Tuju Paravars may have settled in the Tamil land, in the same manner the Tuḷu Vellaḷers colonized certain parts of that country. B. A. S.

2. The word *pāḍadāna* resembles the Dravidian word *pāṭ*, meaning a song. But the nature of a Tulu Padadana is essentially that of a *prarthana*, prayer. B. A. S.

The *bhūtas* in Tuḷuva are generally worshipped in *sānas* (Skt. *sthāna*).[1] *Bhūta sānas* have to a great extent been modernized in Tuḷuva. But some of the old structures answer to the following description given by Walhouse:—they are small, plain structures, four or five yards deep, two or three wide, with a door at one end covered by a portico supported on two pillars. The buildings are generally without windows. In front of them are usually three or four T-shaped pillars, the use of which is not clear. Inside the *bhūta sanas* are images made of brass, in human shape, or resembling animals such as pigs, tigers, fowls, etc. These are brought out and worshipped as symbols of the *bhutas* on various ceremonial occasions. A peculiar small goglet made of bell metal and *kepula* flowers *(Ixora Coccinea),* together with lights are placed in front of the *bhutas.* In some *sanas,* however, a sword is

1. Manner distinguishes the *bhutas* thus : family *bhutas* worshipped in *koṭyas* ; village *bhūtas* residing in *sānas* ; sylvan *bhūtas* typified by the Brahmarākṣas ; and *bhūtas* connected with temples and inhabiting the *guḍis. I. A.* XXIII. p. 29 seq. Sturrock follows him. 5. C. *Manual,* I. p. 138. This is entirely a gratuitous distinction. Likewise is Männer's assertion that Kuṁberlu is the special *bhūta* of the Holeyas, This cannot be maintained at all, so far as the Holeyas are concerned. The difference between *koṭyas, sānas,* and *guḍis* indicates merely the locality where they are worshipped, and it does not in any way point to an essential difference in the nature of the *bhūtas.* The spirits of the two redoubtable brothers Kōfi and Cennaya, whose martial deeds will be described in detail in the last chapter of this treatise, are said by Männer to reside in the *garaḍi,* But a *garaḍi* is more often given to an indigenous gymnasium. Practically every *bhūta* worshipped by the Tujuvas represents some famous man or woman who performed great deeds of valour. B. A. S.

placed near the *bhūtas.* This sword is held by the priest when he stands possessed and trembling before the people assembled for worship.[1]

*Bhūta* worship in Tuḷuva is generally of four kinds: *kōla, bandi, nema,* and *agelu tambila.* The most common form of worship is a *kōla* which name is generally applied to the celebrations in honour of the *bhūtas.* It is offered to the *bhūtas* in the *sīmas* of the villages, and is witnessed by all the people of the village who contribute their mite for its success. A *kōla* is sometimes also performed by an individual who has taken a vow. When the *kōla* is performed with the addition of another detail, *viz.,* dragging about a sort of a car on which the Porhbada priest who represents the *bhuta* is seated, we have a *bandi.* The celebration of the *kōla* once in twelve years in a famous temple, as in that of Dharmasthaḷa in honour of the formidable Aṇṇappa, is called a *naḍāvaḷi*; while the same performed by a private person once in ten, fifteen, or twenty years goes by the name of *nema.* There is still another kind of worship given exclusively to the Baiderlu, and that is called *agelu tambila.*[2]

1. Walhouse, *Journal of the Anthrological Institute,* V. p. 142; Sturrock *S. C. Manual,* I . pp. 137-138; R. C. Temple, J. *A.* XXIII. p. 5 seq. The assertion of Temple, who follows Graul, that *bhūta* worship refers to an early period of heroes is by no means accurate. Some of the *bhūtas* like Kōti and Cennaya belong to comparatively later times. And the Tujuvas do not worship only seven *bhutas,* but, as Sturrock remarked, legion. *Ibid,* p. 138. B. A. S.

2. Cf. Sturrock, *ibid,* pp. 138-39.

## 2. BUDDHISM

While traces of this most popular form of aboriginal worship are still seen everywhere in the district, not a vestige remains of Buddhism which somewhere in the early centuries of the Christian era seems to have taken its hold over the land.[1] That Buddhists existed in Tuḷuva even in our own times there cannot be any doubt : the official statistics returned three Buddhists in the last quarter of the ninteenth century A.D.[2]

But of the spread of Buddhism in Tuluva in the early times, no direct information is forthcoming in history. Nevertheless, with the aid of epigraphs we are able to glean a few details concerning Buddhism which, taken in conjunction with the traditional notices and some religious observances current in Tuluva today, enable us to assert that Tuḷuva had indeed come within the fold of Buddhism in the early centuries of the Christian era. In this connection it must be said at the outset that the attempts made by some to identify Tuḷuva with Satiyaputa of the Edicts of Aśoka are wholly unconvincing.[3]

1. Perhaps the only trace—if we may call it so—is the *dhupe* or burial mounds in Tuluva. *Dhupe* may be perhaps a corruption of stūpa but no proof is forthcoming to maintain this. B. A. S.

2. Sturrock, 5. *C. Manual,* I I . p. 11.

3. Saletore, The Identification of Satiyaputa, *Indian Culture,* I. pp. 667-674. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, in trying to refute me, has vainly endeavoured to locate Satiyaputa somewhere "to the north or N. W. of the three well-kn6wn southern kingdoms". *Journal of Indian History,* XIV, No. 41, pp. 278-9. We are none these wiser for these

Traditional notices which refer to the existence of Buddhism in Tuḷuva in early times are of two kinds : Tuḷuva traditional references as embodied in the *Grāmapaddhati*, and non-Tuḷuva references as given in Kannaḍa works of comparatively modern times. While dealing with the origin of the Sudra tenants of the thirty-two *grāmas*, the *Grāmapaddhati* relates that among the captives brought by Candrāngada from the Pāṇḍyadesá was one Pommadaya, a widow who had been excommunicated for having associated with a Sūdra called Bappa or Badda Dāsa. She had eleven children, the eldest of whom was Kavaca Dāsa. These eleven sons were the progenitors of the Nāḍavars of Tuḷuva.[1] Neither the *Grāmapaddhati* of Bhaṭṭācārya nor the Puttige version of the same mentions this absurd account of the origin of the Nāḍavars.[3]

**vague and unconvincing suppositions. Equally unconvincing is the suggested identification between the Satiyaputa of the Edicts and the word *Satiya putra* (or *Satyavati putra)* which forms one of the *birudas* of the legendaiy hero Bhūtāḷa Pāndya. Mr. Govinda Pai, *The Kanara High School Magazine,* I. No. 2, p. 65 seq. No. 3, p. 101. Mr. Pai has made another attempt to identify Satiyaputa with Tuluva. *Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume 1936,* pp. 33-47. Even if we assume that Bhutala Pandya belonged to the early centuries of the Christian era, this identification is erroneous, since Bhūtāla Paṇḍya would then belong to the 1st century A.D., while the Edicts of Asoka range from B. C. 258 or B. C. 257 onwards. Smith, *O. H. I.*, p. 103. ( London, 1928). This disparity in the age is enough to dis. prove the identification. B. A. S.**

**1.** ***The Man galore version.***

***2.*** **The Nāḍavars have been eulogized by Nrpatunga Deva in his *Kavirajamarga,* thus :**

***subhatarkal kavigal-su- !***
***prabhugal calvarkal~a- !***

Now, all that we may venture to say in regard to the name Bappa or Badda Dāsa occurring in Tuḷuva tradition, is that it may have been a clumsy rendering of the name of the Buddhist leader Badda Dāsa. But it must be admitted that this is only a conjecture, since there is no proof to maintain that the Buddhist leader of Ceylon had anything to do with Tuḷuva.[1]

Devacandra ( A.D. 1838) in his *Rajavali-kathe* refers to the prevalence of Buddhism in Tuḷuva.[2]

Neither the later nor the earlier notices of the spread of Buddhism are so convincing as the following considerations which refer in unmistakable terms to the prevalence of Buddhism in Tuḷuva in the early centuries of the Christian era. At Kadri, a suburb of Mangalore, are some caves called popularly " Pāṇḍava caves". These are identical with the numerous Buddhist caves which were used as places of retreat in the southern parts of the peninsula, and which have been

*bhijanarkal ̣ guṇigal ‖*
*abhimanigal atyuggrar !*
*gabhira-cittar vivēkigaf Naḍavarggal ̣ ‖*

*Kavirajamargga,* II. v. 26. In an earlier connection he remarks thus : *Kannadakke Nadavar ajar. Ibid,* I. v. 42. Mr. S. B. Joshi identifies the Nadavars mentioned here with the Nadavars of Tujuva. *Maharaṣtrada Mulā* p. 9. (Dharwar, 1934). Mr. D. R. Bendrey, M.A., tells me that the Nadavars were the same as the Natas of early India history. B. A. S.

1. On Badda Dāsa, read, Codrington. *A Short History of Ceylon,* pp. 29, 34. (London, 1926). Mr. Aygal places Badda Dasa in the twelfth century A.D. *Daksina Kannada Jilleyo Pracina Itihasa,* pp.315-6.

2. Rice, *Mys. Insc,* Intr.p: lixxviii; *E.* C. II., p. 45 **(1st** ed.).

assigned to an age ranging from the second to the sixth century of the Christian era.[1] We shall presently see that Kadarikā was a Buddhist centre even so late as the tenth century A.D.

Another consideration which prompts one to maintain that Buddhism was popular in early times in Tuḷuva is the fact of the existence of numerous stones called *śāstāvu kallu,* or as in some places, *'saṣtave'svara.* Almost every temple, especially in the Uḍipi tāluka, has a special shrine called the *śāstāvu guḍi.* Thus in the well known Anantesvara temple at Udipi, there is the *guḍi* of Śāsatāveśvara, while in the Sankaranārāyaṇa temple at Koḍavūru near Uḍipi, there is likewise a *śastāvu guḍi.* Daily worship is being done to the deities in these *guḍis.*[3] At Ubaradḷika Muttūru, sixteen miles north of Suḷya, and at Koḍipāḍi, four miles west of Puttūr, are two temples of the *śāstāvu* god. The word *śāstāvu,* according to Amrasiṁha, is one of the names of Buddha:—

*Muriindrah S'righanah S'asta-munih S'akya-munih-tu yah* I
*sa-S'ākya-simhah . Sarvārtha-siddhah .S'auddhodanih-ça sah .* I
*Gautamah-ca-Arkabandhuh-ca Maya-devi-sutah-ca sah .* II[3]

It is not unlikely that the *śāstāvu kallu* and the *śastāvu* gods worshipped in Tuḷuva today are the relics

1. *Ep. Rept. of the S. Circle for 1907,* pp. 60-61.

2. A village called Śastavu lies south of the *grama* of Kokkarane, near Surālu in the Udipi taluka. No trace of Buddhism can be seen here. But I am told that there is a Trimurti (image ?) in Sastāvu. Then again there is a village called Sastana near Saligrama, also in the same tāluka. B. A. S.

3. *Amarakośa,* I. 14-15.

of those far-off times when Buddhism was one of the most important religions of the land.

Names of goddesses and of towns afford, again, clues to the history of Buddhism in ancient Tujuva. Of the names of towns, we shall select only one well known example - Mangalore. This town has two other names-Mā̃yikaḷ and Koḍiyāḷ. Of these the latter is applied to the northern part of the town to what is still known as *Koḍiyāḷa-guttu.* This name is neither so popular nor so ancient as the other name Mā̃yikaḷ, which is the designation of the original part of the town in the south. Mayikal is derived from *Maya-kala* or *Maya-kaṇa,* meaning "The abode (space, place) of Māyā". The name, therefore appropriately describes the "Town of Mā̃yā". Now, when we realize that the patron diety of Mangalore is Mangaḷā Devī, also called Adi Devī, whose well known temple stands in the very locality called Mā̃yikaḷ ; and that Mangaḷā Devī or Adi Devī seems to have been no other than the Buddhist goddess Tā̃rā̃ BhagavatI,[1] we may well understand why Mangalore was called *Maya-kala,* or the Town of Māyā.

Other facts support this assumption of ours. Mangalore is just two and a half miles south of Kadirikā, which, as will be proved presently, contained a Buddhist *vihāra.* One may not be far wrong in assuming that the temple of Māyā or Maṅgala was in some manner connected with the *vihāra* at Kadarikā. More-

1. Mangaḷa is another name of Tā̃rā̃. *JRAS* for 1894, p. 85.

over, the present day custom of offerings animal sacrifices to the goddess Mari Ammā, whose shrine is not far from the temple of the goddess Maṅgaḷā, strikingly recalls one feature of the goddess Durgā who, as pointed out by us elsewhere, was no other than the Brahmanical counterpart of Tārā Bhagavatī.[1]

The Uḍipi tāluka contains many places which seem to have been once centres of Buddhist worship. In an earlier connection we mentioned four religious places reputed to have been created by Paraśurāma in order to guard Uḍipi. These were Kuñjāru, Indrāṇi, Kannarapāḍi, and Puttūru.[2] Divesting the tradition of its Pauranic garb, it seems that these four places were no other than Buddhist centres. At least the name

1. Cf. Saletore, *The Wild Tribes in Indian History,* pp. 26-27, 29. The Mahālmgeśvara temple at Tenkaniḍiyūru, also called Belkale, near Udipi, and the Śankaranārāyana temple at Kodavūru, also near Udipi, may have heen likewise originally Buddhist centres. They contain *sastavu gudis.* The Visnumurti temple at Kidiyuru, also a suburb of Uḍipi, was in all probability Buddhist in origin. A close examination of this temple has revealed the following : 1. The structure and shape of this temple recalls that of the Anaṅteśvara temple at Uḍipi and the *vihdra* at Kadirikā. 2. Of the Visṇumūrti temple and the Yaksiṇi *guḍi* at Kidiyūru, the latter is older. This Yaksiní was Camundesvari, *i.e.,* Durga. The wooden image of Camundesvari has been done away with because it was eaten by white ants. The priest of the temple was, however, unable to tell me as to when the image of Cāmuṇḍeśvari was destroyed. 3. The *lirigas* in the outer *prakara* of the temple show that the Visnumurti temple was once 3aivite. That is to say, originally a Buddhist *vihara,* it must have passed first into the hands of the Śaivites, and then into those of the Vaisṇavites. B. A. S.

2. Some accounts substitute Bailuru for Kunjaru, and Kadi yali for Indrani. B. Srinivata Acarya, *Udipi-Ksetra Mahima,* p. 4 (Udipi, 1923).

Durgā Bhagavatī given to the goddess of Puttūru clearly suggests this.[1] This is further proved by the bare name of goddess Bhagavatī given to the goddess, as in Niruvāra (Nīlāvara) in the same Uḍipi tāluka. It was to this temple of the goddess Bhagavatī that, as narrated in connection with the events of the reign of the king Vīra Pāṇḍya Ālupendradeva, a gift of money was made by his queen Balla Mahā Devī in the presence of the ministers and others.[2] The goddess Bhagavati was also called Durgā as in A.D. 1345, when a gift was made to her in the reign of the Alupa king Vīra KulaSekhara Alupendradeva II.[3]

In the Kārkaḷa tāluka, too, there seem to have been centres which were originally Buddhist in origin. The Durgā Parameśvarī temple to which a gift of land seems to have been made, as recorded in an undated and damaged inscription of the Ālupa king Kāmadeva,[4] was evidently in the hands of the Buddhists before it

1. It may be recalled here that the goddess Durgā Bhagavati of Puttūru was well known as a protectoress and a saviouress. This is exactly one of the attributes of the Buddhist goddess Tārā. Was the god Hayagriva of the Sōde Matha of Uḍipi originally a Buddhist Mahāyāna deity ? On Hayagriva, read Bhattacharyya, *Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 37, 68 seq. (London-Calcutta, 1924) ; Sādhanamāla, II, p. 508, (Baroda, 1928). B. A. S.

2. *491 of 1928-9*, op. cit.

3. *496 of 1928-9*, op. cit. We may not be far wrong in assuming that the famous goddess Mukāmbikā of Kollūru in the Kundāpura tāluka, may have been originally Buddhist. Mūkāmbikā is celebrated as a goddess of learning. This attribute she shares with Mañjuśrī ; but it must be admitted that there is no proof forthcoming in support of our assumption. B. A. S.

4. *477 of 1928-9*, op. cit.

had passed into those of the Saivites. There is every reason to believe that the goddess now known as Gauri in the suburb of Mūḍubidre called Prāntya, was originally known as Durgā. This is proved by two records dated A. D. 1205-6 and A. D. 1215 respectively of the times of Kulaśekhara Alupendradeva I. In both these inscriptions the goddess is called Durga Devī and not Gauri.[1] Two and a half centuries later in A.D. 1444 during the reign of Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva IV, the same name is applied to the goddess. This suggests that the name Gauri must have been applied to the goddess after the middle ol the fifteenth century A.D.

To the names Adi Devi, Durgā, Durgā BhagavatI, or merely BhagavatI, which indicate the Buddhist origin of the temples under review, we may add one more name which proves beyond doubt the prevalence of Buddhism in early Tuḷuva. This is the name Bhaṭṭāraki applied to the goddess at Poḷali. As is related in an undated inscription of the Alupa prince Kumara Pandya Jayasingarasa, a gift of land was made by him to the goddess Holala Bhaṭṭāraki.[2] From this we may reasonably assure that the well known Poḷali Durga Paramesvari of the modern times was no other than Holala Bhaṭṭaraki of the early ages.[3]

1. *51 and 51 of 1901,* op. cit.
2. *380 of 1901,* op. cit.
3. It cannot be made out whether Udayāvara itself was once under the Buddhist influence. One of the inscriptions cited above calls Ranasagara *Sambukallu Bhattaraka.* The title Bhattaraka stands

The next consideration concerning the existence of Buddhism in Tuḷuva hails from Kadri or Kadirikā, near Mangalore. The fact of the Āḷupa ruler Kundavarmarasa having set up the image of Lokesvara in the *vihara* of Kadirikā is enough to prove that that centre was originally a Buddhist monastery. The appellation of *vihara* used for the locality and the identification of the image of Lokeśvara itself support our assumption. Lokeśvara was essentially a Buddhist god. This is proved by an inscription which commemorates the construction by a Jayanta chief of a Buddha *vihara* at

**no doubt for *rājā* as well as for *priest.* Amarasirhha uses it as a synonym for *raja. Amarakosa,* Natyavarga, 13. Kalidasa used the term Bhattaraka to mean an official : *Bhattdraka ito'rdham yusmakam sumano mulyam bhavatu. Sakuntalam,* VI, *pravesaka.* The Jainas used that appellation for their rulers as well as for their priests. But, as explained elsewhere, Jainism was introduced in Tuluva in the ninth century A.D. The *biruda Sambukallu Bhaṭṭdraka,* therefore, has to be referred to a non-Jama origin of an earlier date. It may be argued that Sambu being another name of Siva, the expression has to be interpreted in the sense of "Bhattāraka of Śambukallu" *(i.e.,* king or great lord of Sambukallu). This is unintelligible. So we have to interpret Bhattaraka in the Buddhist sense of worshipper. This would mean that Raṇasagara was "A worshipper of Śambukallu" *(i.e.,* the stone of Śiva= Linga). Two other expressions occurring in the same stone mscriprion are to be noted. These are *Sivaḷliya Brahmapuram mareda mahapdtakam-akku* and *Avici mahd-narakakke bhagyam akkum.* Whether the reference is to the Brahman conception of *pañca-tnahdpdtakam* as explained by Manu (XI. 55) or to the Buddhist idea of the same (Cf. Fleet, *Cor. Insc. Indie.* III. p. 34 n,), it cannot be made out. Again the reference to the hell called Avici is not clear. The Hindus considered Avici as one of the *narakas (Amarkosa,* IX, Narakavarga, 1), •But the Mahay- ana Buddhists have also described Avici in detail. *Aryamanjusrimulakalpa,* Part III. pp. 635, 664-665. (Trivandrum Skt. Series, No. LXXXIV. Trivandrum 1925). Cf. Jayaswal, *Imperial History oj India,* p. 54, vv. 732-738. (Lahore, 1934).**

Baḷḷigāve by the *Mahāpradhāna Daṇḍanāyaka* Rūpabhaṭṭayya, to provide for which and for the worship of Tārā Bhagavatī, the gods Keśava, Lokesvara and Buddha, he made ample endowments which are specified in detail. This is related in an inscription dated A.D. 1065.[X]

Indeed, Lokeśvara was no other than the northern Buddhist Boddhisattva Avalokiteśvara. He is represented as the consort of Tārā. The image of Lokeśvara at Kadirika is, on the whole, in conformity with that described in the northern texts. He is described as indigo-coloured with three faces which are black, white and red. The first pair of hands embraces red *lasya matri* and holds *vajra* and bell; the second pair holds an upper garment of human skin; and the third holds *damaru* and skull with blood. And he has a *khatvanga* in his arm pit, and he is adorned with jewels. The absence of other details given in the northern texts, irtz.jthat his left leg flexed rests on Iśvara, and the right extended rests on Sītā; and his orange hair being adorned with *udumvara* flowers[2]—may be explained by saying that the difference is due to the local atmosphere.

The statement in the same inscription found on the pedestal of the image of Lokeśvara, that the Alupa king Kundavarmarasa removed the evil of grink *(surā, pana kṛiodo'so yena ājña niṟakrtaḥ);* the general shape of

1. 1. *E.* C. VII. Sk. 170, p. 112.
2. Waddell, *JRAS for 1894,* pp. S2-83.

the temple of Kadri which people call now Mañjunātha temple, but which is like the shape of the AnantesVara temple at Uḍipi, recalling more a Buddhist *vihāra* than a Hindu temple; and the existence of Buddhist caves on to adjoining hill—these support our suggestion that Kadirikā" was essentially a Buddhist centre in the tenth century A.D.[1]

We have now to inquire into the causes of the decline of Buddhism in Tuḷuva. Buddhism certainly was never the religion of the rulers of Tuḷuva. Almost till the middle ages the names of the most prominent Mahāyāna goddess survived in Tuḷuva. But grave causes had already brought about the decline of Buddhism outside Tuḷuva. Of these the most important was the advance of Jainism the champions of which inflicted crushing defeats on Buddhist disputants, by the seventh century A.D., in Kañci and other well known Hindu capitals.' Then came the rise of Advaitism under the great Sankarācārya somewhere in the middle of the eighth century A.D. But the most potent cause which brought about the disappearance

**1. These considerations invalidate the assertion made by the Madras Government Epigraphist Mr. Venkoba Rao that the temple was originally a Jaina one. *Ep. Rept. of the S, Circle* for 1921, p. 8. On the worship of Avalokiteśvara in Kāśmira in the thirteenth century, read Sten Konow, *E.* J., IX. p. 301, Cowell has some remarks to make on Avalokiteśvara. /. *A.* VII, p. 249, seq. On Avalokitesvara, read Bhaṭṭācaryya, *Buddhist Iconography,* p. 33 seq. The further identification of this image of Kadirikā will be the subject of a separate paper. B. A. S.**

**2. For a detailed account, see the writer's forthcoming book on Buddhism.**

of Buddhism from Tuḷuva was the strong Saivite leaning of the Alupa rulers whose religious beliefs we shall now describe in some detail.

## 3. SAIVISM

On the strength of epigraphical evidence we may definitely maintain that the predominant religion under the Alupas was Saivism. In this section we shall first give such of the evidence as can be gathered from the stone epigraphs in regard to the faith of the Alupas, and then deal with the history of a famous religious institution a great teacher of which was the *raja-guru* of one of the Alupa kings.

The indigenous Nāga origin of the Alupas, as the reader must have gathered from the remarks we made while delineating the political history of Tujuva, was perhaps responsible to some extent for the inherent Saiva tendency of the Alupas. According to our calculation, Sri Māramma Aḷvarasar is the earliest historical figure in the Alupa genealogy, although the Halmiḍi stone inscription suggests the name of an earlier king. One of the stone inscriptions in the Sambhukallu temple at Udayāvara, ends with the word *Goravaru.*[1] This word refers to the Saivite priests called Sthānikas or Goravas, who have played a significant part in the religious history of the land.[2] Another stone inscription of king Aḷvarasar, also found in the

1. *99 of 1901, op.* cit.

2. This subject will be discussed separately by me elsewhere. B. A. S.

same temple, not only contains the same word *Goravaru,* but also refers to the god Sambhukallu ( i. e., Iśvara ) to whom evidently a grant was made.[1]

Coming to the times of Citravāhana I, we have seen how he was a patron of Brahmans learned in the Vedas. The statements that "those who enjoyed the gift were held as consecrated to the thirty-three (i. e., the gods )", and " whoever else takes or gives this is guilty of the five great sins," denote that the Saivite religious feelings remained unchanged under Citravāhana I.

There cannot be any doubt that during the reign of Raṇasāgara, Saivism continued to be the dominant religion in Tuluva. An indiscernible bond connected Udayavara with the well known city of Humccha or Paṭṭi Pombucchapura. This is evident from the manner in which a *viragal* found in Udayavara ends. It deals, as we have already seen, with the death of a follower of Raṇasāgara named Viñja Praharabhiṣaṇa's son Kāmakōḍa in an encounter with the followers of Svetavāhana, the rival of Raṇasāgara. The *vlragal* narrates that Kāmakōḍa "pulled out the tongue of those who were not attached to the Pasúpata lord...", and seized, and destroyed, and assaulted those who were not attached to the lord of Paṭṭi.[2]

The veneration of the people for one of the most celebrated spots in Tuḷuva, associated with the name

1. *96 of 1901,* op. cit.
2. 108 *of 1901,* op. cit.

of Siva— *S'iva-halli* (The village of Siva)—is seen in a record of king Pṛthviśaṅgara (A.D. 730~A.D. 750) which not only reiterates the close relationship between Udayāvara and Paṭṭi, but also gives another significant detail which unfortunately for want of adequate data has to remain unexplained. This epigraph narrates that those who destroyed the grant would "be covered with the five great sins (of one) who destroys Varanasi and Śivalli"; while he who confirmed it would acquire "the fruit of a horse-sacrifice."[1] To the Tuḷuvas, therefore, Sivaḷḷi was as celebrated and holy as Benares. But why the merits of a horse-sacrifice which are met with for the first time only in this record, should have been mentioned here, we are unable to explain. Perhaps the horse-sacrilice is associated with the valour of king Pṛthvīśāgara. While dealing with the public grants in the reign of king Vijayāditya, we noted in an earlier context the references to the fruits of a horse-sacrifice and the importance of Sivaḷḷi and Vāraṇāsi.[2] Another inscription registering a gift to the god Subrahmaṇya, also noted in the previous pages, conclusively proves the strong Saivite tendency of that ruler.[3]

More than two centuries later we come across interesting facts concerning the spiritual teacher of the

1. 702 *of 1901,* op. cit. On the villager comprising Sivalli, site *infra* Appendix.
2. *98 of 1901,* op. cit.
3. *372 of 1927,* op. cit.

Alupa king and the lineage to which he belonged. This is gathered from a damaged stone inscription found in the SomesVara temple at Mūḍukēṟi in Bārakūru. The original in Kannaḍa runs thus:-—

***S'ri Ganadhipataye namah ('subha)ni'astu svasti srimata Durvāsa(s) munlndra-vaṁ'sa-tilaka...ya saṁtati saṁjātar-appa śrīmat Gagana-S'iva-ācaryarige Daṯṯalpendra 'bṟi-Māra Oḍḍama Devlgaḷu Bārahakanyā-purada piriya-aramaneyalu hattu-kēriya halaru muṁtāgi Kārakaḷada Kadurabe(la)ṁ-beṭṭina tamma brahmaḍayada...(vai)tti a 60 mūḍe bittuva (ba)yalanu je...yalu nakharaṯ muṁtāgi biṯṯaru pūjeya (dhd) reyaneredu koṭṭaru ā-bhūmi avara saṁtati saṁhtatiya 'sri-maṭhakke naḍuvudu yl dharmavannu ar(a)su nāḍu nakhara pal(i)si bahavaru yl dharmmavanē-ava kẹdisida...Vāraṇāsiyalu 108 kavileyanu Brāhmaranu kohda doṣa sva-dattām para-dattām...*** (the epigraph breaks off here).[1]

The contents of the above grant are briefly the following:—Datṟalpendra Srimāra and his queen Oḍḍama Devi seated in the senior palace at Bārahakanyāpura, in conjunction with the citizens of the ten streets *(hattu kēri)* and others, gave to Gagana Sivācārya a gift of land in which sixty *muras* of rice could be sowed, situated in the high-level ground *(beṭṭu)* called Kadurabelambettụ of Kaṟkaḷa. This gift was given in perpetuity to the *maṭha* to which Gagana Sivācārya belonged. The king, ( the representatives of ) the district, and the municipal corporation ( *arasu nāṭu nakhara)* were to protect the *dharma* (gift).

1. *124 of 1901, S. I. I.* VII. **No. 134. o. 165.**

The above grant is important from the following points of view:—

(1) It confirms the evidence supplied by other records concerning the corporate life of the Tuḷu people.

(2) The clauses at the *end-sva dattāṃ para-dattāṃ-* etc, show that the people as well as the engravers in Tuḷuva were not unaware of the Pauranic sanction underlying the protection and violation of grants.

(3) It gives us the name of a new Alupa ruler-Dattāḷpendra Srīmāra-, whose date we can determine by fixing the date of his spiritual teacher.

(4) The inscription gives interesting details concerning the *guru* of Dattāḷpendra Srimāra. He was called Gagana Sivācārya, and he had the *biruda ornament to the spiritual lineage of Durvāsas,* and another indistinct *birudu* which ends in the words...Da *sahtati sañjātar-appa* (one produced [arisen] in).

The inscription is however undated. We have to fix the age of Gagana Sivācārya, and of his royal disciple. This can be done only when we find out the antecedents of the spiritual line to which Gagana Sivācārya belonged.

Gagana Sivācārya mentioned in the Bārakūru inscription is to be identified with Gagana Siva to whom, on Wednesday the 9th March A.D. 959 (Saka 880 expired the cyclic year Kāḷāyukta, Wednesday, the 13th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguṇa), the village of Kaiikem (mod. Kahki in the Junior Mirāj state) in the Karahāṭa

district, was granted by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch Kṛṣṇa III Akālavarṣa Vallabha. The donee is praised as one "versed in all the Saiva *siddhāntas*, the pupil of the preceptor Isanasiva, who is the head of the establishment of Valkaleśvara in Karahāṭa, and is an emigrant of the Kāraṅja-kheṭa group (of villages)".[1]

Before we proceed to narrate a few details based on epigraphical evidence concerning the *maṭha* to which Iśanaśiva and his disciple Gagana Sivācārya belonged, we may note that the age of Dattaḷpendre Srimarā A.D. 959 agrees very well with the conclusions we have arrived at while delineating the Alupa chronology. Dattalpendra Srimara would, therefore, have to be placed after Aḷva Raṇañjaya and before Kundavarma II.

From the above grants relating to land in Kārkaḷa in Tuḷuva and in Kaṅkem in Karahāṭa, it appears that Iśana Sivācārya and his successor Gagana Sivācārya were reckoned to be the heads of the Valkaleśvara *maṭha* in Karahāṭa in the ninth century A.D.; and that Gagana Sivācārya, and, therefore, his preceptor too, belonged to the spiritual lineage founded by the sage Durvāsas.

Which is the institution associated with the name of the sage Durvāsas ? How, when, and where did it originate ? And over which parts of the land did its

**1. D. R. Bhandarkar, *E. I.* IV. pp. 278-290. Hultzsch wrote in a note (n. 1) on the above (p. 290) "or perhaps a descendant of the (spiritual) lineage of (the *maṭha* at) Karaṅja-kheta." This, on the evidence of the Bārakūru record, is inadmissible. Dr. Bhandarkar's interpretation—"group of villages"—is, therefore, correct. B. A. S.**

branches spread ? These questions will now be answered.

The sage Durvasas, founder of the spiritual line to which Gagana Sivācārya belonged, appears in many Tāntric works as the preceptor presiding over the Āmarṭaka *maṭha.*[1] The Tantric literature is said to have been introduced into the world by him. He is is credited with the composition of the works *Prābahti-mahimnāḥ* in praise of the goddess Prāśakti, *Aryādvi-cati, Devlmahimnāh-stōtram, Para'saiva mahimnaḥ-stotram, S'aṁbhumahimnaḥ-stotram,* and others.[2]

But the identification of the Amarṭaka *maṭha* reputed to have been founded by the sage Durvāsas, is a difficult matter. The few historical notices of the institution associated with the name of that sage, bring to light another *matha* which had its origin in the north, but which in course of time spread its influence over the south and the west. We meet with the name of the sage Durvāsas in the history of the Ḍahaḷarraṇḍala situated between the rivers BhagirathI (Ganges) and the Narmadā. The Ḍahaḷa ( or Ḍabhaḷa ) country was conterminous with the Cedi country in Central India,

1. Hultzsch, *Report on Skt. Mss.* No. 2, Intr. p. xvi, seq.

2. Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum,* I. p. 257; II. p. 55. Nirmala Muni Guru of Tiruvalur in the Tanjore district, in his *Laghuprabhd,* a commentary on Aghora Sivacarya's *Kriya-karma-dyotika,* relates that the Tantric" literature originated with the sage Durvasas. *Ep. Rept. of the Southern Circle;* for 1917, p. 126. In the Laksminārāyana temple at Hesaraghaṭṭa, in the Mysore State, the god about two feet high is seated on a high pedestal. He is said to have been worshipped by the sage Durvāsas. *Mys. Arch. Rept.* for 1916, p. 26.

with Tripurl (mod. Tewar, about six miles from Jubbulpore) as its capital. In a record of about A.D. 1162, we are informed that Kṛṣṇa, the progenitor of the Kaḷacuriyas, had seized the Nine Lakh Ḍahaḷa country and had made it his own.[1] Three Lakhs (of villages out of the nine lakhs) became the property of the lollowers of the sage Durvāsas.

These and other interesting details are given in the huge Malakāpuram pillar inscription of the Kākatīya queen Rudra Mahādevi dated Saka 1183 (A.D. 1261, March the 25th). This epigraph records the gift of the villages of Mandara on the south bank of the KṛṣṇaveṇI, and of Velaṅgapūṇḍi (Velagapūḍi), to the teacher Visvesvara Sambhu, by the queen. The inscription relates that in the line of Saiva teachers founded by the sage Durvāsas, appeared Sadbhava Sambhu, who received from the Kaḷacuriya king Yuvarāja Deva as a maintenance gift *(bhikṣā)* the Three Lakh Province. This teacher founded a *maṭha* called Golaki *maṭha* and transferred the Three Lakh Province lor the maintenance of the teachers of that *maṭha.* Golaki or Golagi was a contraction of Goḷagiri in Navalaksa Pahala Tripuri.'

The age of Sadbhava Sambhu can be determined in the following manner:—He was the contemporary of the Kākatīya Yuvarāja Deva whom we take to be the first of that name. Now the date of Yuvarāja Deva

1. *E.* C. XI. Dg. 42, p. 53.
2. *253 of 1905.*

himself is not known but it may be fixed thus : Yuvarāja Deva I's daughter Kundaka Devi married Amoghavarsa II of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family. King Amoghavarṣa II's brother king Govinda IV's dates are known: A.D. 918-A.D. 933. Likewise do we know that king Amoghavarsa II'S contemporary king Kṛṣṇa III lived from A.D. 939 till A.D. 968. Therefore, it is reasonable to assign Amoghavarṣa II to about A.D. 920. Supposing we place the marriage of Kandukā Devī with Amoghavarṣa II in *circa* A. D. 920, we may assign her father Yuvarāja Deva I to about A.D. 900.[1] If this is allowed, then, Sadbhava Sambhu, the contemporary of king Yuvarāja Deva 1, may have lived in about A.D. 900.

The Malakāpuram pillar inscription ot queen Rudra Mahādevī informs us that in the same line was born Soma Sambhu, who composed in his own name the work called *Somaśambhupaddhati*. He had thousands of disciples who, it is interesting to note, were by their mere sight capable of blessing or cursing lords of the earth.[5] It cannot be made out, however, how many teachers intervened between Sadbhava Sambhu and Soma Sambhu.[3]

**1. Read Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts.* pp. 32, and dynastic table on p. 57 (Ist ed.).**

**2. *94 of 1917* ; *Ep. Rept. of the S. Circle* for 1917, pp. 123-125.**

**3. The assumption of Aufrecht that Soma Sambhu was the pupil of Sa-Siva, who has been identified with Sadbhava Śiva, and that he flourished in about A.D. 1073, is inadmissible. *Ep. Rep. of the S. Circle* for 1917, p. 126. We have shown that Sadbhava Siva can be placed in *circa* A.D. 900. One century elapses before we meet with the name of Soma Sambhu. Hence the Malakipuram pillar inscription**

The Malakāpuram pillar inscription further tells us that after Soma Sambhu came Sakti Sambhu, and that the pupil of the latter was Kīrti Sambhu. Then came the revered Vimala Siva born in the Keraḷa country, who was highly respected by the Kaḷacuriya kings. His pupil was Dharma Siva or Dharma Sambhu whose pupil was Viśveśvara Sambhu, who administered initiation *(diska)* to the Kalacuriya king Ganapati, the lather of queen Rudra MahādevI. The same record gives a few facts concerning Viśveśvara Sambhu. He was a Vedic scholar, and a resident of the village Pūrvagrāma in the province of Rāḍhā of the Gauḍa country. The Kaḷacuriya, Coḍa (Coḷa), and Māḷava kings were his royal disciples. King Gaṇapati actually styled himsell son of his teacher, "...with hanging ornaments and a high tult of gold-coloured matted hair, a brilliant face and necklaces, the teacher Visveśvara Sambhu seated in the hall of instruction *(vidyā-maṇṭapa)* of Gaṇapati's palace was indeed an object worthy of sight." It was to this great teacher that queen Rudra Mahadevi gave on March the 25th A.D. 1261 the village of Mandara, as mentioned above.[1]

We may be permitted to mention here the successors of Viśvesvara Sambhu before passing on to the remarkable influence which the Golaki *maṭha* wielded in

merely records thus : "In the same line was born Soma Sambhu.. " If we accept Aufrecht's date for Soma Śambhu, it would violate the contemporaneity of Sadbhava Śambhu with the Kajacuriya king Yuvaraja Deva, as given in the Malakapuram inscription. B. A. S.

1. *Ep. Rept. of the S. Circle* for 1917, pp. 123-125, op cit.

the Tamil and Telugu lands. In an inscription dated in the tenth regnal year of an unidentified king called Maravarman *alias* Tribhuvana Cakravartin Sundara Pandya, we are told that the disciple's disciple ot Sri Desikendra of the *Golaki-vam sa* and the *Laksadhyayi-santana* in the Aryavarta country, was Isana Siva Ravula.* The fact that Isana Siva Ravula belonged to the Golaki-*vamsa* clearly denotes that he was of the same lineage to which VisVesVara Sambhu belonged. From other records we know that Visvesvara Siva was also known as VisVesvara Siva Desika.[2] The Sri-Desikendra mentioned above, theretore, could have been no other than Visvesvara Siva Desika.

We do not know whether isana Siva Ravula, who was the disciple's disciple of VisVesvara Siva Desika, was the same person as the Isana Siva Yoglndra who, as is narrated in who i

Kirti Sambhu

A. D. 1247 Bhimala Sambhu (born in Kerala)

Dharma Siva Sambhu

A. D. 1252 Visvesvara Sambhu Sri Desikendra, contemporary of the Kakatiya king Ganapati

*circa* A, D. 1292 Disciple

*circa* A. D. 1332 Isana Siva Ravula, contemporary of Maravarman Sundara Pandya [1]

We now turn to the Golaki centres in the Tamil land. Tiruvarur in the Tanjore district was the seat of a Saiva *matha* called the Krsna Golaki *matha*. Nothing is known ofe Tamil

*dhipati alias* Laksadhyayi-satanam of Daksina Kailasa in Tirumalainadu. This inscription is dated Saka 1452 Vikrti (A.D.1530-1).[1]

The Telugu land too possessed well known Galaki *mathas.* Of these Puspagiri[2] and Tripurantakam in the Kurnool district were two seats which wielded

The Alupas continued to be devotees of Siva till the times of Kulaśekhara Alupendradeva I, i.e., till the first quarter of the thirteenth century A.D. This is proved by the grants made in the presence of gods Mārkaṇḍeśvara and Nakhareśvara in Bārakūru, and of the goddess Durgā either by the kings themselves or by citizens in the presence of the officers of the rulers.[1]

But the age of Kulasekhara Alupendradeva I also witnessed the rise into prominence of another religion which had already been introduced into Tuḷuva, and which had made rapid progress over the whole of the Karnāṭaka. This was Jainism into the history of which at least so tar as it concerns our topic, we shall presently enquire with the aid of contemporary epigraphs and tradition. But that the account of Saivism under the Alupas may be complete, we shall give such of the brief notices of that religion as are met with in the Alupa records of the successors of Kulasekhara Alupendradeva I.

Vira Pandyadeva Alupendradeva I (A.D. 1254-1267) and his queen Balla Mahadevi continued to bestow patronage on the Saivite centres of Kota, Brahmavuru, Niruvara, and Puttige, in the Udipi taluka, as their epigraphs amply prove.[3] Vira Pandyadeva's son and successor Nagadevarasa (A.D. 1292-98) likewise was a

1. *777 and 176 of 1901,* op. cit.; *52 of 1901,* op. cit.

2. *370 af 1027 ; 485 of 1928-9* ; *490 of 1928-9* ; *491, 500 and 509 of 1928-9.*

mind. Hence we find the stone grant *('sila-'sasanam)* given to the god Bankesvara of Mangajuru by the last of the Alupa kings Kulasekhara Alupendradeva IV, as recorded in the Kanara High School stone inscription dated only in the cyclic year Raktaksi but assignable to A.D. 1441-[1] Nevertheless Jainism had already made sufficient progress in Tuluva by this time, and we have now, therefore, to describe the manner in which it came to be so conspicuous in Tuluva.

## 4. JAINISM

The main sources of information tor the study of Jainism in Tuluva are the Hindu and Jaina tradition, epigraphs, and Jaina literature as preserved in the libraries of Jaina centres of Mudubidre and Karkala. But since the last named source is inaccessible to the student of history, we have to rely mainly on the Jaina and Hindu tradition coroborated by the notices of Jainism in epigraphs discovered in Tuluva.

Hindu tradition contains notices of Jaina *rsis* who are said to have introduced Jainism into a part of Tujuva. The *Visnu Parana,* for example, states that Rsabha, the son of Nabhi by his queen Meru, having ruled with equity and wisdom, and having celebrated many sacrifices, resigned the soveregnity of the earth to his eldest son Bharata—after whom the earth came to be known as Bharatavarsa—, and retiring to the hermitage of Pulastya, adopted the life of a *sanyasin.* He

1. *23 B of 1907.*

somewhere in the region between Kutakagrama and Hattiangadi. The latter place in the Kundapuru taluka is no doubt still considered to be a holy centre of the Jainas, although it contains no more than a couple of Jaina houses and a Jaina *basti.* If we are to rely on the story of Rsabha's wanderings, Jainism appears to have been introduced first in the region of Kundapuru and then elsewhere in Tuluva.[1]

But the traditions current in Mudubidre and Karkala, the two strongholds of Jainism in Tuluva, run counter to the above view. The Jaina tradition in Mudubidre as well as in Karkala dates the introduction of Jainism into 'Tuluva to about the ninth century A.D. The following may be noted in this connection:—In the first place, the Jainas of Tuluva have no memories of Parasurama. Unlike the Brahmans, they deny the

1. These assumptions receive some support from the following ^tone inscription assigned to *circa* A.D. 950, which informs us that Jinadatta *Polalol Kumbhastkeyol madidam Jiva-gehangalam.* The same record ends with the statement that Jinadatta granted Kumbhasepura for the anointment of Jina, etc. *E. C.* VII. Sh. 114, p. 37. One is inclined to identify Polalu mentioned in this record with Pojalu or Polali in-the Mangalore taluka, and Kumbhasepura or Kumbhasike with Kumbhakasi or Kumbhasike in the *Vd*ipi taluka. This may be strengthened by the fact that at Malali, north of Polalia or Kumbhasik

this was the earliest colony of their people in that town. Evidently the Jainas settled in that quarter mainly as traders, and ultimately succeeded in converting the ruler of Mudubidre from Hinduism into Jainism. This could only have been in later times when the Alupas had already made Mudubidre one of their provincial capitals. We shall presently see that epigraphical evidence supports this assumption of ours.

Fifthly, Mudubidre was originally a centre of the Brahmans. Both the traditions of the Jainas and epigraphs prove this. The Cautars of Mudubidre, who are now Jainas, and who removed later on their centre to Puttige, were originally Hindus, their tutelary deity *(kula devata)* being the god Somanatha of Ullala on the coast. Buchanan relates in his days there were in Mudubidre six *gudis* or temples belonging to Brahmans, who followed the *Puranas,* and 700 houses mostly occupied by the Brahmans of the two sects.[1] prov

inaccurate, yet the fact of the memory of Jaina advent into Tuluva, at least so for as Karkala is concerned, being limited to the times of Jinadatta, shows that we have to look for the beginnings of Jainism in Tuluva only after the ninth century A.D.

Indeed, this assumption of ours is further proved by the following tradition that is till current in Mudubidre ;—Once a Jaina sage visited a Ballala ruler whose finger had been cut off as a punishment by his sovereign. The sage was respectfully served and waited upon by the Ballala Raya. But seeing the maimed finger of the Ballala Raya, the Jaina sage went away. A respectfully, serv

The similarity between the tradition of Carukirti Pandita Deva in

The Koraga record dated Saka 1331 (A.D. 1408) registering the gift of land by the Santara king Vira Bhairava and his son Pandya Bhupala ruling trom the capital Kervase, at the instance of Yasantaklrti Ravula of the Balatkaragana, tor offerings to the image ot Parsvanatha and for feeding *rsis* in the *basti* at Barakuru built by the king,[1] has already been commented upon while delineating the relations between the Alupas and the Santaras.

We may be permitted here to allude to a stone inscription in the Jaina *basti* at Barakuru, registering grants of land to the services of Adi Paramesvara in Barakuru, by Caruklrti Pandita Deva. It is dated Saka 1421 (A.D. 1499-1500).'

## 5. VAISNAVISM

Both Jainism and Saivism received a set-back in the thirteenth century A.D. due to the achievements of

**HI. 79, p. 174 Mr. A. N. Upadhye traces the origin of the word to the root *sad* (to sit), with *ni,* conveying the idea of a seat. It indicates a monumental structure on the spot within the cremation ground where an Arhat was cremated. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,* XIV. P. Ill, pp. 264-266. A Srikirti Bhattaraka is mentioned among the Jaina teachers who are represented on the bottom rows of the panel in the Dharmadhikan *basti* at Karkala. They are given in the following order —(I) Kumudacandra Bhattaraka ; (2) Hemacandra Bhauaraka ; (3) Sri Ciirukirti Pandita Deva ; (4) Srutamuni; (5) Dharmabhusana Bhattaraka ; (6) Pujyapadasvami; (7) Vimala Suri Bhattaraka ; (8) Sri Kirti Bhattaraka ; (9) Siddhanta Deva ; (10) Carukirti Panclita Deva ; (11) Mahakirti Deva Ravuja ; and (12) Narendra Kirti *Deva. Ep. Rep. of the S. Circle* for 1921, p. 8.**

1. ***530 of 1928.*** **op.cit.**
2. ***168 C d]eva Ravuja ; and (12) Narendra Kirti***

aS0 58.800 Tm0 T61I1

from the ancient village of Sivalli. The family to which Madhyagehabhatta belonged is called Mudilla. Madhyagehabhatta's wife was called Vedavati. To them alter a twelve years' penance at the Anante^vara temple in Udipi was born a son who was considered to be an *avatara* of Vayu. This child was christened Vasudeva. The wonderful lad performed great deeds. Once a creditor to whom his father owed some money, sat stubbornly on the doorsteps of Madhyagehabhatta's house, and refused to depart till his dues were paid. Vasudeva went inside and returned with some s Madhyagehabhatta's p0(f3 TTd0 212.834 3131 313.800 Tm0.613 Tc( wer) Tj0 Tc(e) T4v0.948

requested to write a new commentary on the old *Sutras* which he agreed to do.

Now[7] he undertook a south Indian tour along with his *guru* Acyutapreksa. He first visited a place called Visnumangala, about three miles from Kasaragddu in the South Kanara district. (About one mile from Visnumangala lay Kumaramangala where the well known Kavu *matha* of Trivikramacaryw 1.289 [illegible]

Goa he surprised the people of the *grama* of Pusava by his extraordinary musical skill. The Acarya then reached Tuluva where at Kaudipadi (Kodipadi) he defeated another Advaita teacher named Padmatirtha, the disciple of Vidyasankara whom Anandatirtha had already vanquished. Padmatirtha's attempts to steal the work called *Madhva-siddhnnta* were frustrated by the Acarya. From Kaudipadi the Acarya journeyed to Kabenadu in Tuluva where he stayed for a few days in the Madanadipati temple. Thence he went to the Visnu-mangala temple in the territory of the Kumbla Raja Jayasimhabhupa, who now became his disciple. This prince descended from his chariot and walked in the company of the Acarya, who was now honoured by the representatives of the twenty-eight villages of Kumbla. The learned Trivikramapandita of the Anglrasa *gotra* desired to enter into a discussion with the Acarya. The debate was held for fifteen days in the Amaralaya Kudilu *grama,* at the end of which Trivikramapandita acknowledged himself defeated, and became a disciple of the Acarya. According to the advice of his *guru,* Trivikramapandita wrote a commentary called ***TattVapradlpika.***

**Meanwhile Anandatirtha's parents had died. And his brother renouncing the duties of a householder,**

s of4mvi.( An960 T26.275 T0 Tc(y)25p2Tw0.506 Tc(hi) Tj0 Tc(s) Tj0 T0.60 T

before the Acarya's death, Naraharitlrtha got him the two precious images of Rama and Sita from Ganjam. For three months and sixteen days the Acarya kept the images in his own custody and worshipped them. The Acarya then transmitted the charge of the images to the care of his disciple Padmanabhatlrtha. And having lived for seventy-nine years *(ekonasiti-varsani nltva manusa drstigah),* in the Pin^ala Samvatsara Magha Suddha Navami, the great Madhvacarya went to Badarl.[1]

Such is briefly the lite of the most celebrated son of Tuluva. Incredible as some of his actions may seem, there is reason to believe that this description was not the result of fanciful exaggeration on the part ot the writer of the *Madhva-vijaya,* by name Narayana, son ot Trivikrama.[2] We have just referred to the prodigious deeds of strength done by the great Acarya at a place called Ambatlrtha. The following is related about the incident in the *Madhva-vijaya* :—

*tlrthartham prthutara-vapra pati-varam* I
*dharanam raya-sahana-ksamam Maheksah* II
*anltarn dasa-'sata-pumbhir atya'baktya* I
*pe.256 Tc( Th) Tj0 Tc(e) Tj1.176 Tw1.097 Tc( followin) Tj0 Tc(g)*

Rice has assigned this inscription to about A.D. 1240. But on the strength of the evidence cited below, we may assign this event to *circa* A.D. 1280.

This brings us to the question of the date of the birth of the great Madhvacarya. The most important considerations in the determination of his date are the tradition that is still preserved at the eight *mathas* of his disciples in Udipi, the internal evidence supplied both by the *Madhva-vijaya* and the *Anumadhvacaritam,* and the contemporaneity of a ruler and of one of his own disciples mentioned in the *Madhva-vijaya.*

We may dispense with the date Saka 1117-18 as the date of the birth of Madhvacarya.[1] Likewise the date A.D. 1199 given by Sturrock, obviously on the basis of a statement made in one offoMadhvacarya.

v2bviouslyTc( oR80.745 Tc(A.D) Tj32.Span <</9 Tc( i)7198.040TcNTj4

A.D. 1362, and this brings us to A.D. 1329. Now, the nearest year A.D. which corresponds to Pingala, the traditional date of the death of Anandatirtha, was A.D. 1317. Anandtirtha is supposed to have lived for seventy-nine years, and consequently the date ot his birth, the cyclic year Vijarhbi, would correspond to A.D. 1238. The statement in the *Madhva-vijaya* confirms this date.[1]

Evidence from another work may be cited to substantiate the conclusion arrived at both by Mr. Padmanabha Acarya and Mr. Krsna Sastri. This is called *Anumadhvacaritam* written by one of the direct disciples of Madhvacarya by name Hrsikesatirtha of the Phalamaru *matha* at Udipi. The following is written in the *Annumadhvacaritam* :—

*irisatabdottaracatuh-sahasrabdebhya uttare ekona-catva-*

1 *E. I.* VI. p. 263. Mr. Sastri rightly considered the verse in the *Bhdratatdtparyanirnaya*, written hy Madhvacarya himself, to be an interpolation. For in this work Madhvacarya is said to have been born in Kali 4300 (A.D. 1198). The verse in question is the following —

*catus-sahasre tri-satottare gate samvatsardndm-tu FCalau pfthivydm *
*jdtah punarvipratanussa Bhimah-daityaih-nigudam Haritattvam-dha ||*

*Bhdratatdtparyanirnaya,* Adhyaya 32, v. 131. According to this verse, as bastri said, there is a difference of eighty years between it and the date found in the lists. Even this date given in the *Bhdratatdtparyanirnaya* cannot be reconciled with the dates of the inscriptions of Anandatirtha's disciple Narahantirtha. Hence it is an interpolation.

**E. J. VI. p. 263. Mr. Krsnamurti Sarma rightly maintains that A.D. 1238 is thes disciple Narahantirtha. Hence it is an interpolation.**

from the ancient village of Sivalli. The family to which Madhyagehabhatta belonged is called Mudilla. Madhyagehabhatta's wife was called Vedavati. To them after a twelve years' penance at the Anantesvara temple in Udipi was born a son who was considered to be an *avatara* ol Vayu. This child was christened Vasudeva. The wonderful lad performed great deeds. Once a creditor to whom his father owed some money, sat stubbornly on the doorsteps of Madhyagehabhatta's house, and refused to depart till his dues were paid. Vasudeva went inside and returned with some tamarind seeds which, on being given to the Vaisya creditor, were turned into pieces of gold.

Vasudevao the Vaisya

requested to write a new commentary on the old *Sutras* which he agreed to do.

Now he undertook a south Indian tour along with his *guru* Acyutapreksa. He first visited a place called Visnuniangala, about three miles from Kasaragodu in the South Kanara district. (About one mile from Visnuniangala lay Kumaramangala where the well known Kavu *matha* of Trivikramacarya exists.)[1] Visnumangala lay within the jurisdiction of the Prince Jayasimhabhupa of Kumbla. Here in the [illegible] jurisdiction of the

from where he was led, as the story goes, by Badarayana to Badarikasrama. In vain did Anandatlrtha's disciple Satyatirtha try to follow his *guru.* It was at the instance of the Rsi Badarayana that Anandatirtha wrote the commentary on the *Brahmasutras.*

He returned to the south along the banks of the Godavari, where he overcame many disputants. Among these were two who became his disciples-Sobhanabhatta and Sama(Sama) Sastri. These afterwards came to be known as Padmanabhatlrtha and Naraharitirtha respectively. Naraharitirtha was directed by Anandatirtha to go to the capital of the Gajapati king and to become the prime-minister of that ruler. And he was by some means or other to get possession of the two original images of Rama and Sita. Naraharitirtha accordingly succeeded in becoming the prime-minister some

another place he destroyed a tiger which sprang suddenly on Satyatirtha, who was carrying the *puja* box on his shoulders. In due course Anandatlrtha reached Badarikasrama where Badarayana gave him eight *'salagramas* which later on the Acarya installed at Udipi, Subrahmanya, Madhyatale, and in other *mathas.*[1] Anandatlrtha was told by Badarayana to write a commentary on the *Mahabharata.* He returned to Hastmavatl and Kuruksetra where at the former place he spent the *caturmasa.* He then travelled to Kasi where he defeated a teacher called Indrapuri (?), a champion of Advaitism. This victory secured for Anandatlrtha the title of *yati-'sikhamani.* It was while in this region that the Acarya

physical strength. His extraordinary abilities had created some enemies. They had heard of the Acarya teaching his disciples at the dead of night

These "settled" dates of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar have to be rejected on historical grounds; and we have to examine the validity of the arguments put forward by other scholars who have arrived at the correct date of the birth of Madhvacarya. Of these only two deserve mention—Mr. C. M. Padmanabha Acarya and the late Mr. Krsna Sastri. Mr. Padmanabha Acarya arrived at fiaka 1160 as the date of the birth of the great Acarya. He utilized the lact of the contemporaneity of Madhvacarya with Naraharitirtha, of Madhvacarya's disciple Adhoksajatlrtha with Vidyaranya Svami of Sringeri, and of the Devagiri ruler Isvara Deva, whom he identified with Mahadeva, with Madhvacarya himself.[1]

The late Mr. Krsna Sastri argued in this manner:- To get at the time *of* Anandtirtha, the total period of the *sthanadhipatya* of the Svami of

*rimsabde Vilambi-parivatsare A'svija-S'akla-Da'saml-divase bhuvi-pavane*

Madhvacarya returned to Rajatapitha! in the next year; and we may legitimately place the discovery of the image of Krsna in the ship off the coast of Malpe in the three years which intervened between his return to Tuluva and his second northern tour. That is to say, it may be assigned to about the year A.D. 1273. This period, it may also be remembered, was spent in writing commentaries on the scriptures.

The *Madhva-vijaya* clearly says that after living for some time in Udipi, Madhvacarya started on his second tour to the north. Therefore, we may allot three years to his stay in Tujuva. The second tour to Badrikasrama may be determined with the help of the date of his contemporary called in the *Madhva-vijaya* Isvara Deva of Devagiri. No such name is met with in the Seuna or Yadava geneology. But he has been identified with Mahadeva of Devagiri.[1]

We may be allowed to mention a lew details concerning this Isvara or Mahadeva of Devagiri as given in the *Madhva-vijaya,* and see in what manner they agree with the details one may glean from the epigraphs. In the epigraphs he is called Mahadeva; and till now it was generally believed that his reign lasted

**1. Krsnaswami Aiyar, *Madhvacarya, A Historic Sketch,* p. 14. This book is unfortunately inaccessible to me. But it has been referred to by Krsna Sastri, *E.* J.**

the account given of this ruler in the *Madhva-vijaya.* In one record he is called *Ugra-iaarvabhauma,* thus suggesting, as Fleet remarked, that he forcibly usurped the sovereignity.[1] This assumption of Fleet is confirmed by an epigraph dated A.D. 1268, which after tracing the Seuna genealogy from king Jaitugi through his son Bhillama, and then through Simhana, and the latter's son Sarangapani, directly mentions Mahadeva thus—the heroic Mahadeva seized the three worlds *(trailokyam akramati).*[2] The same is repeated in another record of the ruler which, after narrating that the empe Tc(m) T

The following table summarizes our deductions given above :—

| Event | |
|---|---|
| Birth | |
| *U panayanam* | |
| Became *Purnaprajna* | |
| South Indian tour | |
| Return to Tuluva | |

h four deductions

The following thirty-seven works are ascribed to Madhvacarya, according to the tradition current at Udipi:—

*Gita-bhasya, Gita-tatparya, Sutra-bhasya, Anu-bhasya,*

A most famous name among the Bhagavatas of Tuluva is that of Bhattacarya Prabhakara, who is reputed to have been the compiler of the *Gramapaddhati*, and, as some maintain, to have been himself the founder of the Balekuduru *matha.* This lalter statement, however, seems to be incorrect, if we are to reply on the evidence of the following stone inscription found in the ISvara temple in the Nadamaduvu village of Sagara taluka in the Mysore State. This inscription relates that Vitthaya Senabova was the spiritual son *(dlksa-putra)* of the *raya-raja-guru* Bhattacarya, and the son of Haruvigoppa Vamana Hebbaruva and Satakka. Thet Vi(tthaya) TSE

the *mathu* Visnusvami, by the Vijayanagara ruler Ranga Raya, the following apostolic succession is given:—

Narada
|
Vyasa

Sukha
i
Gaudapada

Govinda
¡
Ksirasvami
"|
Vitthala

Sridhara

Visnusvami[1]

Whatever may be the claims of priority which the Mulbagal *matha* can put forward over the *mathas* of Dvarka and Talakad, one fact seems clear from the above account of the Smartha *mathas* of the Karnataka, namely, that no Bhagavata *sampradaya matha* in that region seems to be so old as the Balekuduru *matha* of Tuluva which dates back to the twelfth century A.D.

1. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* for 1919, p. 37. In A.D. 1812 the Mysore ruler Krsna Raja Odeyar I I I gave a *sanad* remitting some specified taxes to Krsnananda *Svami* of the same *matha.* The *sanad* was written in Persian, Marathi and Kannada. The reason given for the remission was that the Svami represented to the State that the balance left after the payment of the *jodi* to the government did not suffice for the up. keep [illegible] represented to the State that the balance left after 6 /

Ballala himself, who would "get up early", a(nd go "in search of a man to represent the *bhMa"* .[1] And then to the Pomb^da thus would the Ballaja say—" O Devil-dancer ! Today in my *budu* a *sthana* is to be dedicated to a new *bhuta* Panjurli. I have asked for an auspicious day, and today is the day. ^Therefore you must come to represent the *bhuta* and dance. You must come in the evening and be ready. All your neighbours will come at this time. You must come soon. Otherwise there will be delay on your account. Take care ; you must come. Now I am going ".[2] Such indeed was the polite order which the Ballala gave to his tenant, the devil-dancer.

The Holeyas or Pariahs were mostly concerned with the servile work of the higher classes. The Ballala of Parimale finding the two young heroes, Koti and Cennaya, obdurate, as regards the grant of a field, sent his nephew to pacify them. "And the nephew then took some precious shawls in both his hands, and said to the brothers—'O my heroes ! make peace, and I will give you whatever you want '. ' Give your shawls to the Pariahs that have long served you ! We will never enter the hall we have once left', replied the brothers,"[3]

The Mapillas are spoken of as a trading class. Indeed, the Padadana called *Bobbariye* (Babu Byari ?) seems to deal with the advent of Muhammadan traders

1. I.*A* XXVI, p. 67.
2. *Ibid,* p. 67.
3. *Ibid,* XXIII, p. 32.

Mardal wanted to build a *sthanaiot* the *bhuta* Panjurli. He had felled as many trees as possible with the aid of the carpenters, and then he wanted to have them drag* ged to the place where the *sthana* was to be built. "One day he went to Polippu and called all the fishermen, and said to them-*How many males are there in your house r' and when one fisherman answered that they were four in all, and another two, the Ballaja said, O you fishermen ! hear, each one of you : trees have been felled in the forests for the purpose of building a *sthana* for the Ballala's *budu.* All these trees should be brought to the *budu* because the day is fixed ior the building of the *sthana* and for raising the upper storey ; therefore the work is stopped. Therefore, to-morrow all of you must come together; one or two hundred oi you must join together and bring the trees to my house. The man who does not come will be fined. And it he does not pay the line, I will see that nobody gives him chunam or fire."[1]

The Brahmans and the Jainas, who occupied a high position in Tuluva society, were mainly given to the study of scriptures and the use of

ease. You only can do it,there is no other way'."[1] And the Bhatta came to the rescue of the Ballala not before the latter had added half a rupee to the cocoanuts in the shape of fees for his astrological calculations. Then the Bhatta said,- "You see! There is great distress in your house. But because the present you have placed has come forth at the sign of Mesa, I can say it is a *bhuta* with a hog's face...Now he asks sacrifice from you ...and to have a *sthana* built for him and sacritices offered.'" Thus did the Brahman stop the disease in the Baliala's house.

Over and above this vocation of theirs, the Brahmans are described as tilling the land. The Ballala of Edamburu, to whom the two

attained puberty before marriage, had her bonds loosened, she asked her deliverer, Sama Alva Baidya of Parimale, why he had come to the forest. And he replied :— "I came to take palm-juice from the palm-trees which are Pari-<0( replie) Tj0 Tc(d)r5( tak) Tj0 Tc(e)3.4c(,)Tj0 Tc7j(

Buchanan as the lower part of the valleys

And it was over the

*yenelu* crop in Tuluva. "The kinds of rice that are transplanted for the *Yenelu* crop on *Bylu* land are cultivated as follows:—Between the 14th of May and the 14th of June, water the ground intended for raising the seedlings for two days, and then plough it twice; all the water, except two inches in depth, being let off at each ploughing. The two ploughings must be repeated every other day, until the eighth time. The field, before the last ploughing, is manured with ashes, and with dung, in which, while in the cow-house, the leaves of every kind of bush and tree have been mixed. The mud is then smoothed with the *Mutu Pallay* or plank drawn by oxen. The seed, prepared by causing it to sprout, is then sown very thick, the water being three inches deep. Next day the water is let off. On the fifth day, when the shoots come up, they get as much water as covers the half next the ground, and every day, as the plants grow, the quantity of water is increased. On the ninth day the water is let entirely off, and is not given again until the eleventh day. If worms affect the plants, about the end of the third week the water is again let off for three days, and some ashes are sprinkled over the tield to kill these destructive animals. The seedlings must be transplanted between the 30th and 35th days."[1]

For an efficient system of cultivation they wanted some

on a little they saw a harrow (always described as *Basaruru pannu kotture* in the text ) dressed up.*

The different kinds of cultivated lands wanted some kind of irrigational devices by which water could be diverted from a lower to a higher level or from a softer to a harder ground. The Tuluvas paid some attention to this necessity ; for the Padadanas mention the use of pikota, which even the women could handle with ease. The two brothers after defeating the warriors of Savaiandadka and Nelli, were directed to the house of Palli Bannaya. On reaching his house, however, they found that Bannaya was away on some work. His wife received them well but while they sat down to chew[7] betelnut, Cennaya swooned. Koti then begged the wife of Bannaya to give him a little water. "Having heard this, she went inside, took a jug of silver, and went to the seat by the well. She held a pikota, which was so high as to reach the sky, let it down and drew pure water from the bottom of the well.'" In another place the pikota is thus described. Duganna Kaver 6f Ekkar and Timmannatikari (Timmanna Adikhari ) of Tibera wandered through the *berke* of Tangbdcher

pagodas from his master. Sama Alva said, "May I speak one word to my master? If you will not be displeased with me, I will say it." The Ballala ordered him to say on. Then he said, "O Sir! I wish to give a small present to you. 1 wish to give you a pair of racing buffaloes." [1] When he heard this, the Ballala exclaimed in astonishment—"Wtat! a pair of racing bulfaloes! Who do you think would wish to give me such a big present? I think that the present which I have given you is a very small one. A landlord may give presents to his tenants. But a tenant will be ruined if he thinks of giving presents to the landlord." [2]

Cultivation with the Tujuvas depended, as it does now, on a shrewd observation of the seasons. In Tuluva the Salivahana Saka on.581 Tc( present) Tj0 Tc(s) Tj1.814 Tw0.920 0

bottles, clothes, tobacco in matting and sugar. Though they sold them all, they did not recover the cost of their arecanuts and living." In the same Padadana, we are informed that these children of Murave Byari, after sailing for a year and six months, "produced gold, pearls, rubies, diamonds and carbuncles".[1]

It may be remarked that this story of Bobbariye deals with Mapillas and not Tuluvas. But we may bear in mind that the Arabs, who had opened their trading stations on the coast of Malabar proper, seem to have met with many

have been manufactured or mined in Tuluva, lead us to suppose that the people must have got them from places outside the district.

In Tuluva itself, however, there were

The Tuluvas, on the whole, paid in corn and other necessaries of life for commodities which they bought, or as wages for work turned out by the labourers. They of course knew the use of money. We have already seen how the children of Murave Byari sold their she-buffalo for eight pagodas, and how, in the same story, the *bhuta* Brahma, on seeing money, joyously permitted the Byaris to cut trees from his forest. The custom in Tuluva has been to pay for work done in terms of the commodities required in the daily conduct of life. The Ballala of Parimaje lay in agony. A thorn had caused him severe pain. " Who else can give me medicine ? ", asked the Parimaje Ballala, when all the physicians of Parimaje had failed to cure him of his illness. The name of Deyi Baidyedi was next proposed and the Ballala at once sent his servants with a letter requesting her to come to his *budu.* To the man who gave her this letter, Deyi Baidyedi said—" You, the bearer of the letter, had better take rice for your hire in Erajha." She brought a *seer* of rice, a cocoanut and two cucumbers, and gave them to the bearer. " If you want to cook and take your good here, there is the hut for travellers built by my brother. If you want to prepare your meal here, I can get pots made of bell-metal. If you are going travellersylbuilt by my brother. If

After they (had) reached the *budu,* the Ballala gave to the carpenters their *batta* which consisted of rice, cocoanuts, salt, tamarind, chillies, curry-stuff, and onions, and everything else they needed, and ordered them to come earlier on the next day, and sent them away."[1] And afterwards " the sawyers were called and the work was given on contract. And they were told to do the work quickly and finish it in fifteen days."[8]

Those who carried loads on their heads were paid in the following manner. The Ballala of Parimaje sent Deyi Baidyedi home loaded with presents. "While they were yet far oif, Sama Alva's sister recognized her son and daughter-in-law and called her sons and said— 'Look at Deyi Baidyedi ! When she went from among us, she went alone. Now, when returning many bearers with infants, cradle, and cow and calf, are accompanying her ! ' 'Yes,'said they, 'fortune is smiling upon us'. So saying they came to meet Deyi Baidyedi. Afterwards Deyi Baidyedi told her husband to go to the garden and fetch large young cocoanuts to distri-y came

universal praise from all. Then he thought of going home. He therefore went to the Ballala, and said thus—" It is a year and six months since I came. I must go to my native country. I came alone leaving alone a iully pregnant woman. Therefore I beg leave.[0] The Ballala presented him with a cot, a chair to sit on, five torches for light, a stick to walk with, cloths up to the shoulders, and betel leaves to fill his mouth.[1]

## 4. DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The Padadanas give picturesque details concerning dress worn by the Tulu people. Adura Dere Baidya desired to witness a famous cock-fight. With this intent he had four to eight cocks fed. Then he gave an early dinner to his nephews, and after dinner dressed himself after the Tuluva fashion. He tied a red turban on his head, and put his best slippers on his feet. He held [illegible] dressed [illegible] He 0 6

ally, " The Ballala has got his face shaved and looks well, there is hair on our faces. We will not go as we are to see such a handsome face," said they. "Children, take *pancoli* betel leaves from a vine on an arecanut tree and *mundoli* from a vine on a mango tree. Dress yourselves with *kayen karpoli* clothes, put these betel leaves into a cloth and go to the *budu,"* said their uncle.' On presenting oneself before such an august personage like the Ballala one had, therefore, to use a special dress.

An ordinary man, however, wore simpler dress. To him the singularth singul3BDCBT0 Tc(e) T.626 T309u5ple5q58llg

Warriors besides carrying swords by their side, putting marks of sandal paste, and dressing themselves in silken robes from Kavuru, used to wear ear-ornaments

[illegible] going to battle put on marks of sandal paste, and opened the box and took a black silken cloth

overflow of blood in your veins? Or is it

verandah. The Ballala sent a man to bring some medicine from a physician named Barma, living in the village of Sanje Manje. Koti cut the whole of the enemy to pieces and brought the battle to an end."[1]

The Tuluvas had some signs of surrender in times of war. When the two brothers went to Nellinje, always expecting the enemy, who, directed by their rival, the Ballala of Panja, lay in ambush on the road, they saw a bunch of stone-berries. Cennaya took one of the berries and threw it up, and held his dagger directly under it, and passed the dagger through the berry. The berry as it fell was reduced to powder as fine as red turmeric. The people saw this wonderful feat, and said " If the younger brother can show so much of dexterity, how much more will the elder brother be able to show ? All our ability and skill would be as nothing in comparison to theirs. If we obey our master's order, half of us shall lose our lives ". Thus spoke the Bakuders of the plain, the Koragars, and the Mogers, who took to their heels. When the Mogers, however, who carried bows, and who " held each a blade of grass in his hand", fell prostrate before the brothers, crying for protection, the heroes pardoned them. The brothers " poured water on the hands of the suppliants, saying—' Be you our bond-slaves," and the brothers blessed them by touching their hands with the points of their daggers and gave them some rupees.[2]

1. I. A. XXIII, p.m

the great quarrel between the Bunt children and the Billavar lads.

A game equally famous as the one mentioned above was the buffalo race. How the enmity that began with the cashew nuts developed in the *kambala* field has been already dwelt upon. The *kambala* as ( the field where) the buffalo-race is held is known in Tuluva, witnesses even today a great concourse of people. The most remarkable *kambala* in Tuluva is that which is held at Ondar in the Kundapuru taluka, and the next most famous is the *arasu kambala* ( the king's buffalo race) at Padapanamburu, near Mulki. The essential idea underlying a *kambala* is the thorough ploughing of the paddy fields once a year. The buffaloes that are driven in the race are not generally used for agricultural purposes. They are carefully reared, and on the day of the race brought to the field, decorated with silver trappings, amidst great pomp. To each of the buffaloes let in the field, is tied a plank called *muttuna palayi* nearly four feet in length, in the centre of which is a small circular piece of wood, upon which the man who drives the buffalo takes his stand. This circular piece of plank has got a small hole bored in it, and as the animal careers, the water underneath rushes up to the sky in the shape

and he who owns two only, may, if he pleases, send them to us, or he may send them to Buddyanta

The sowing of seeds and the planting of a plantain tree in the field were the next two important items in their programme. '* Then they (i.e., the brothers) caused the buffaloes to be washed and boiled rice to be served to them. They also caused fodder to be served to those who were willing to eat it, and supplied tender cocoanuts to those who would not take fodder. To the coolies they said—'Go home in enjoyment'. Then they brought some seed in baskets to their fields for sowing them; while Buddyanta had his seed carried to his fields in a palanquin. The two brothers then planted a plantain tree in their fields and sowed them and returned home 'V This description holds good of a *kambala* in Tuluva even today.

Another well known game in which Koti and Cennaya excelled was that of the *palle* berries ( or the large beans of *entada monastachya* ). They asked their uncle how they could play that game without the necessary requisites, and then Sayanna told them how they could play that game without th

a master of the game. It may be described as a game played with two wooden sticks, one about two or three feet long, another five inches in length, in which the smaller is hit with the bigger ; and the winner is said to be he who is able, on striking successfully, to send the smaller one to the greatest distance on the ground.

The game called *candagidi,* or merely *gidi* (hawk), is referred to in the Padadana called *Koti Cennaya.* The heroes Koti and Cennaya finding a man called Candagidi, a iriend of their inveterate enemy the Ballala of Panja, hiding himself behind a wall, taunted him thus : " How many kinds of eagles are there ?", said Cennaya. " There is the red eagle, the black eagle, and the yellow eagle

When he found that they held him in utter contempt for having kept his land in a state of decadence, he at once " caused letters to be written to those who lived in remote countries ; and to the people of the tow[r]n, he caused a proclamation to be made by the beat of a bell-metal drum, that there should assemble

could not fight with it without risking his life. In this strait he prayed to the *bhuta* Brahmara ofT KARNATAKA

Karkala through Ubar (Uppinangadi), until she arrived at Yenuru.''[1] It was a long distance, indeed, which the determinate daughter of Sambu Kalkuda traversed to find out the whereabouts of her brother, the celebrated architect of Tuluva. And in the course of her wanderings, especially within the limits of Tujuva, no robber waylaid her and no shop-keeper cheated her.

One of the reasons why there was security on the public roads in early times in Tuluva was due to the fact that roads were studded with rest-houses in which kind-hearted men were stationed. The Brahman, for example, who gave Koti and Cennaya food and drink, as we have already seen, was one of such rest-house keepers. These rest-houses were called *katte* in Tujuva. The ordinary *kattes* were different from *dharma-kattes.* We infer this from the conversation that took place between the Brahman and the two brothers. The latter found that he had three kinds of drinking cups—one for giving water to aristocats and princes, another, a smaller one, lor Brahmans, and third one of bell-metal for people of all castes. They remonstrated that they would not drink from a cup which had been handled by a thousand people. They then asked him to pour water on the daggers point. But when the Brahman saw the shining steel, his knees gave way under him and frod hime to pour frn.707 TwTlei052 Tc3p8a3de)50.1451a

and an army, too, I shall give you a *mura* of rice." The heroes in the court of Edamburu, therefore, had to fight against elephants. "They went to the Ballala and saluted him. Five hundred elephants were loosed to fight with the heroes of Edamburu." " If you come with justice, I will show you the road to my heart, but if you come with injustice I will cut you to pieces like bees", said Cennaya. A troop of horses was brought out to them but Cennaya mounted on a horse and killed it by pressing it so that it vomitted up its food.[1]

In the above description we have just seen how horses were tied to banyan trees. Bira Kalkuda, being called a bastard, determined to find out who and where his father was. So " he started from his house and passed by a water-course, a high hill, a Brahman ( ? ) tree, where an father was.") So " he started from his house

wear it upon your waist. This is my present to you. Next year I will give you besides a golden chain to put on your wrist \ He replied—' O Sir, by your kindness alone I am living comfortably '. At this the Ballala said—* You get me fifty pagodas every year for the toddy you draw out of the palm-trees of the forest of Parimale. If it were not for you, I would not get so much. There is none so bold as to go to the forest. A stupid fellow will not be able to supply your place. If my tenants are rich and able to pay, I shall not become poor.' ,"

Another important source of revenue was that derived froms none so bold as to go to the forest.

loads carried on head and on the back, cattle, and a whole family were taxed on the boundary limits. In another version of the same story, it is clearly stated thus—" Do men or women follow us, Dere ? "'e boundary l

n fol. In "

the western verandah. They wrote on sand, and learnt writing on it. They got planks. They brought short leaves of the palm-tree from Uddandabottu, put them in the sun when it was low in the east and heaped them up in the evening when the sun was dark. Next day they cut off both ends of the leaves and bound the middle parts into books. They had five handfuls of leaves, and three of written books. They clearly read the writing on the leaves and only murmured books. Their writing on sand, planks, and leaves was done well."[1]

That the Tuluvas knew writing in the days of Koti and Cennaya there can be no doubt. This is proved by the reference made in their Padadana to a stone inscription. When Cennaya and his brother had levelled the palace of the Ballala of Panja to the ground, they caused the Ballala to be brought before them, and after showering a volley of abuse on him, ended their speech thus:—"Seven feet of land in the village of Panja we shall annex to Edamburu." Having thus severely reproached the Ballala, they told him that they would leave the village. On one side was Panja. and on the other was Edamburu, and between them was a Site-stone, serving as a boundary-mark. They saw the stone, and it was covered with waiting. "Look here* brother, see this writing on this stone," said the

1. I. *A.* XXV, p. 239. The name given to the iron pencil which was used for writing is *kantalvu.* No mention is made in the Padadanas of. 239s gThe name given to the iron pencil which

torn. If a creeping ant goes there, it can creep no more. Therefore, oh you heroes, you should follow me as a child follows its mother, as chickens follow the hen, and as the thread follows the needle.'"[1]

The description of the ship which the enterprising children of Murave Byari of Sulikal built proves again that the Tuju people knew how to tack the sails and construct an awning. Silken flags are continually mentioned in the Padadanas. When Kocalva Ballala of Nandarabettu wanted to be a patron of the *bhuta* Ambadadi Panjurli, he spoke to it thus—"To a *bhuta*, that desires to come to me, I will not say nay. If you will cast aside your present form, and come to me, I will have a woollen couch prepared for you, and cause a silken flag to be raised. I will offer to you a pig made of bell-metal.'?

The names of some musical instruments are given in the Padadanas. When their uncle had got ready for Koti and Cennaya a coat and a pair of trousers each, he had a horn

ing—the lute, the cymbals, the drum, the trumpet, and a kind of hautboy.[1]

## 10. RELIGION

The Padadanas do not inform us when the great religions were introduced into Tuluva. But one significant fact revealed in the folk-songs is that most of the *bhutas* descended from the Ghats. This is how the story of Panjurli begins—"A sow gave birth to a twin brother and sister. 'Now we must descend the Ghats! What god shall we serve? If we serve the god Sidalinga in the south, he will probably accept our services, but his male attendants will not allow that. If we should offer to serve the god Mahalingeśvara in the north, he may probably accept our services, but his male attendants will not let us serve him. Now there is the north, he may probably accept

The Ballajas seem to have naturally been influenced by Hindu customs. The spies sent by the Edamburu Ballala to find out what the two brothers were doing, reported that Koti and Cennaya were speaking very contemptuously of his government, and that, among other things, they suggested that all " the *'sraddhas* of your ancestors, which have remained unperformed should now be performed."[1]

**The Tuluvas believed indeed in God and in Heaven, although the spirits of the dead heroes made up their lower hierarchy.[1]**

bundles of betel-leaves, forty-eight betel-nuts, twelve bunches of the flowers of the areca-nut tree, forty-eight kinds of parasitic plants, a bundle of firewood oi the jack-tree, ninety-six tender cocoanuts, ninety-six ripe cocoanuts, forty-eight grains of rice and forty-eight, ninety-six

it. Then the Baragas, who had come together in the *sthdna*, took away the sword from the hands of the devil-dancer, and prayed thus—' O Lord Panjurli, if you are of truth, now you must open your mouth and speak to us. We have taken much pains to believe in you. Now you must be pleased with us and take the sacrilice which we offer, and order us and save us.'

" At this the Panjurli said ' O Ballala, I came down from the sky, yet I had no ladder to do it. Do you hear me ? I am he that came down without a ladder. Great magicians tried for seven days and seven nights to catch me; and yet they could not catch me, but I am to come here. Now I must go about to the great towns and see renowned places and seek for a habitation. I am come to help the men of this world. Take courage. Do not be afraid. I am very much pleased with the sacrifice which you have offered. And yet you must henceforth give me two *tambilas* every year. If you fail in this, I will give you trouble. Then you must not complain of me. Now I am very glad that I have first drunk milk in your house. In future I will help you, so that no sickness or disease attack your children or your cattle. Now bring me food ; the devil-dancer is getting very

is held. It is of the *bhutas* called the Doyyongulu. When the *ayana* of the Doyyongulu takes place every year, it is customary for the Pombada priests to go to the mosque of the Mapiljas and to assure the latter ot the sympathy and support of the Hindus. This is in memory of the success which had attended the arms of a Mapilla general during the mediaeval ages when he had prayed the Doyyongulu for help, and when, as we have already mentioned, he presented them with grants of land.[1]

Another example of the amity that prevailed among the two communities is given in the Padadana of *Bobbarye.* In this we are told that the children oi Murave Bygri determined to go on trading in a ship, as narrated in an earlier context. And with the money which they got by selling their she-butfalo, they collected some fishermen and Mapillas and went to Periyer Kadanjar. And when they neared the temple of Brahma, the Byaris were brosfalo, they.641 Trc(d40 Tm0 T we0

not allowed to marry again. God has created different customs for different castes."

And the startled Baidya gave her the following reply-*[4] These Brahmans are very hard-hearted men. They do not show any mercy to their offspring. It would be better for them to kill her (a child) at once than to bring her and leave her in the forest in this manner. No other castes are so hard-hearted as the Brahmans. It seems to me that this custom is not given to you by God, but instituted by men themselves. God will never ordain that they should sacrifice young women to tigers and bears, to be devoured by them."[i]

Sama Alva, who said these words, showed how e lyoung

*budu.* The following conversation between the Ballala and his privileged Baidya illustrates the cordial feelings that existed between a I'uluva master and his servant. "As I was starting to come here in order to tell you,' said Sama Alva, £your servant came to call me, and I have accompanied him.' On this the Ballala said—'O Sama Alva ! Tell me what has happened in your house ? Then Sama Alva began from the beginning and relaome the BallalaTj8.120.270 Tc( an) Tj0 Tc(d)ly5ua

each house, said—"Yes, that is right. If you invite one person from each house, you will get a load from every house, and it will not be necessary for you

confined in the Ballala's *budu.* " 'I will not bring forth my child at the *budu* built by you,' said she to the Ballala. The Ballala got her a hut and a yard belonging to one Brahman, a tenant of some dry land. He took off his waist-belt of silver, and placed it for her to hold on. 'By holding this, with one single pain, will you bring forth the children from your womb, and be well. I shall come to give names to your children,' said he."[1]

Likewise in a third version of the story we have the following—"By this time Deyi felt pain and (her attendants) hung a rope to facilitate the delivery, praying to the *bhuta* Brahmara of Kemmule."[3] "Thus did she bring forth and the first *'satakam* and the holy water of God was brought to her, and she bathed on the fortieth day. After some days and months were (had ?) passed, Deyi went to a temple.' to obtain merit; and offered at the feet of God an areca flower and a handful of money."[4] Having received several flowers from the priest, she returned home ; while her husband, Sayana Baidya, being overjoyed "called some of the wild people who lived in the jungles and told them to bring to him four loads of young bamboo shoots and a load of lemons."[5] With this he hurried to the Ballala's *budu.* Meanwhile the Ballala of Parimale had sent for her,

1. I.A. XXIV, p.

of the god at Kotesvara in the south, the first was named Koti, and so that he might live as long as there existed the corner-stone of the temple or the god at Badiringa (Badarinatha ?) in the north, the second was named Cennaya."[1]

And when the children grew into fine youths, there came another important ceremony. It was that of tonsure and a bath. Savana Baidya, in order to inform the Ballala that the boys needed treatment under a razor, said—"The goddess Kali who sits in the face of the children whom you have nourished, should be driven away, and the goddess of wealth should be invited to sit there instead." It was to drive out Kali, therefore, that the Ballala ordered his court-clerk to write a letter to the barber oi the *budu,* who lived on the Ghats, to come at once, in whatever dress he was and even though he had half finished his dinner. Thus it was that Kande Bollarasvami *alias* Isara Kambli living in a place called Karmisale in the city of Ijjya on the Ghats, was made to come through the letter written by Nara-

**yanaRangoji. The letter was delivered by Vannapa Bhandhari. Isara Kambli at once hurried to the low country through the letter written by Nara-**

yanaRangoji.

This ceremony of tonoure seems to have been common in ancient Tuluva. In the Padadana on the *Attavara Doyyongulu,* the two boys were also shaved in precisely the same manner by a barber also from above the Ghats. The barber with his box oi razors and looking glass was asked to do his duty to the boys in the palace of Nagaloka. " An English chair with tour legs was placed in the middle of the *cavadi,* two *jagana joti* lamps were placed at the left and right of him, and a *seer* ofi rice and a cocoanut were placed before him A conch-shell was blown and fly brushes were waved on both sides of him. The two boys sat there in undress, while pearls were sprinkled over them and a light adorned with corals was turned towards their faces So all the ceremony was performed.

Then the barber came, and placing a cup of water ready, he stood on the left side, and shaved the right side, and then he the barber came, and placing a cu

bath in a huge pan four hands in breadth. *Ajatti* (lit. a wrestler, but here a person employed to rub oil) was sent for and oil was rubbed on them. A large pan, four hands in breadth, was placed under a white *kadika* tree near a tank built by one of the boys. A thousand pots of water were poured in and were w[r]armed with twelve bundles of fire-wood, and a thousand pots of warm water were poured on their heads and then a thousand pots of cold water. Thus were they rubbed with oil and washed in water. Then their hair had to he rubbed with cloth made of silk, of thej1.176 Tw0.827 Tc(

come into the yard. You must purify yourselves before you come to me'.

''Hearing the order, they came in the shape of aerial beings, to the Ballala's mansion, and threw the handle of their dagger o

the hand, a *dvaria* for both hands, a *barapatte* cloth and a *bajibanda* for her hands. He bestowed the right of *sallabeja,* as the wearing of the cloth was called, and the *koranaseji* ear-rings together with the other presents on her when she had finished partaking of a dinner given by him on the eve of her departure from the royal *budu.*[1]

Social distinctions were also observed on the play-ground and in a *bhuta sthana.* The racing buffaloes, according to rules which are still observed, could only be le. into the field in the order we have elsewhere given in this treatise. If during a devil-dance the Pombada who personates the devil, "offends a rich Bunt by omitting any of his numerous titles, he is made to suffer for it."[2] The Bunts as well as the Billavars are very particular about their titles and the social rank they occupy in the village. The story of Koti and Cennaya illustrates the intolerable attitude which the Bunts bore towards the Billavars—the jealousy which the Bunt Buddyanta felt at the rise to power of the two Billavar boys Koti and Cennaya, and of the final victory of Billavar heroism over Bunt aristocracy.

It was customary for landowners to treat their tenants with great consideration. This explains why Deyi Baidyedi received so hospitably the coolies who got her a palanquin and a letter from the Ballala. When Vannapa (Annapa ?) Bhandari took **the** letter to

1. I. A. XXIV, p. 121, ns. (8) & (9).
2. *Ibid,* XXIII,a (Annapa ?) Bhandari took the letter to

the game of cashew nuts with the children of Buddyanta. And the children of Buddyanta suffered deteat at their hands. Then Buddyanta himself came and took by force all the cashew nuts away from the brothers. And he ''took them home and tying them in a cloth, hung them up in the smoke ! [M1]

How corn was preserved for the rainy season is described in another version of the same Padadana. Koti and Cennaya were in the house of Buddyanta, who seeing them resolved himseli immediately into a lump of flesh, and got himself covered with some torn pieces of matting behind a hollow post. "Buddyanta's wife ! What is that in the torn pieces of matting ?" asked they. "O children ! They are seeds of the months *suggi* and *yenelu,"*replied she. "Which are of *yenelu?"* asked Koti. "Which are of *suggi* ?" asked Cennaya. "Let us see whether they are of *suggi* or of *yenelu"* (they said).'

As regards furniture in a Tuluva household, we have a few details. A swinging cot of pretty large dimensions was a prominent piece of furniture. When Ellur Abbe, the priestess in charge of the temple that belonged to the *CAVADI* of Parimale, had finished blessing the twin heroes, Havana Baidva "took them to Erajha and made them sit on a swinging cot hung from a lrafter.""*

**In hung from**

by her right and led them both into the house and seated them on the swinging cot. Then she held a little grass in her hand and called home the cow that had gone out to graze. She put the calf to suck and drew two *seers* of milk."[1]

Besides the cow there were, of course, the buffaloes about which we have seen something in the description of the *kambala,* and the cocks, with which Aduru Baidya hurried to the cock-fight, and the dogs, without which the Tuluva Ballalas never went a-hunting. Two other domestic creatures may be noted—the swine which the Tuluvas have made famous in their *bhuta* Panjurli ; and the pigeons, the colour of which was taken to be the standard colour of palanquins and wallets.

What an intimate knowledge they possessed of the domestic animals, especially of cattle, can be inferred from the story of the *bhuta* Panjurli. Kantu Setti, Kadmana Setti and Mattu Marbala Setti,—all children of a man called Guru Sarapoji and Gollaramma Deyar, determined to trade by sea. They took to the ship for two years. But profit they could get none. So they began tok5t0004466 Twv0.805076n profi

us ! We came here having finished our meal of boiled rice-water. We take our meals twice a day, but not thrice."[1]

## 13. THE BUDU OR MANORIAL HOUSE OF A TULUVA CHIEFTAIN

That a Tujuva chieftain's house must have been considerably large can be made out from the descriptions given of many *budas* (Kannada *bidu)* in the Padadanas. Koti and Cennaya had finished their toilet and were ready to proceed to the house of their master the Ballala of Parimale. They got into a palanquin ot the colour of parrots, and " each of them tied to his waist a dagger like that of Rama. Thus did they go to the Ballala's house. They approached the gate, and entered the enclosure, and, passing through the yard in front of the house, went into a room set apart for the use of bards, poets and such like people. They then went

his permission,' said Cennaya, and went off at once to the Ballala's verandah."[1]

The Tuluva Ballala was a chieftain of great authority. The uncle of Koti and Cennaya advised them to go to the Edamburu (Parimle ?) *cavadi* and [il] to get a present in addition to the former one, such as *sellabeja* and *sattaneja* ". So the heroes went to the Ballala's *budu*, and, as we have seen, asked for a gift of paddy fields among which were those reserved for Government taxes.[2]

A Tuluva Ballala knew how to be strict with his dependents. The Ballala of Mardal, who wish0 6.695 Tf4

mixed with milk." "Afterwards he called Golla, and examined the guns and bullets

would not have been possible for me to render this piece into Kannada.

## 2. SUMMARY OF THE PLOT

A Greek lady had fallen into the hands of an Indian king. A party of Greeks arrived in a ship, and after making the Indian king and his followers fully drunk, managed to escape with the Greek lady. (For a fuller treatment of the plot and an account of the characters in the Farce, the reader is referred to Dr. Sastry\s interpretation of the Farce as given in his *Mysore Archaeological Report for 1926*, pp. 11 seq. )

## 3. CRITICISM OF THE KANNADA PASSAGES IN THE FARCE

Hultzsch was the first to declare that the passages in the unknown language were in Kannada.[1] Dr. Sastry has given a tentative rendering of the Kannada passages in the in the same Report for 1926. But Dr. Barnett rejected them completely.[2] Dr. Barnett's arguments may be summarized thus:—

We have no direct knowledge of Kannada of such an early period, *viz.*, of the second century A. D. or possibly earlier. The earliest work in Hale Kannada is Kavisvara's *Kavirajimarga.* Dr. Barnett lays down three criteria by which we are to judge the value of the rendering of the alledged passages into Kannada. These are the following:— Firstly, if the proposed reconstruction of the passage in the unknown language agrees with the oldest classical Kannada texts, we may provisionally accept it; if it shows features of the mediaeval or modern dilects, wee agrees with the oldest class

Karnataka was known to the westerners, and that Kannada as a dialect existed in the early centuries of the Christian era. While dealing with the question of the antiquity of Tu)uva, it was shown that in the first and second centuries of the Christian era, Alvakheda was known to the Greeks under the name of Oloikhora. The ending of this as well as other names, *e.* g., Basaruru, Punnata,[1] etc. were certainly Kannada endings.

The fact that Roman coins of Augustus Caesar have been found at Candravalli sufficiently proves that in the early centuries of the Christian era, there was commercial intercourse between the Karnataka and the western

Finally, another trifling detail is the remarkable identity between the name of the rive Pscholicus given in the Farce and the name Sivaluka mentioned in the *Padma Parana.* Thus in the *Padma Purcina:-*^

*Nadhyah punya-jalah tatra Ganga-ca bahudha gata* I
*Sukumarl Kumari-ca Slta S'ivodaka (S'valuka,*
*S'ivoluka) tatha* II

*Mahanadl-ca bho viprah-tatha-manijala-nadi* I
*lksuvardhanika-ca eva nadi munivarah smrtah*[1] II

In the above passage two rivers of Tuluva are mentioned before Sivaluka-the Kumari and the Slta. It is probable that Sivaluka was another and an earlier name of the Papanasini upon which Udipi may be said to lie. In that case, it may be that Sivaluka was the name given to the river because it passed through, or was associated with, Sivalli which comprised quite a considerable part of modern Udipi and Malpe.

## 4 THE SCENE OF ACTION

This brings us to the scene of action of the Farce. We believe that it was laid in the neighbourhood of Malpe itself either at modern Bahadurgadha or at OdabhandeSvara. Of these the former has lost all traces of its ancient Saivite worship. For not only has it, like many a Saivite centre in Tuluva, passed into the hands of the Vaisnavites, but lost its Vaisnavite traces as well, probably after it passed into the hands of the Mysore Sultans in

As regards Greek women coming to the western coast of India in the second century A D., we may note that there is evidence of their presence m the neighbourhood of the *caitya* cave at Karle. (Vats, *E.* .'., XVIII, pp. 325-329). There is nothing improbable in the Greeks visiting the coast of Tuluva in the samea coast of India in

in the Farce, admitting that is only provisional in character.

### 5. A TFNTATIVE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE GREEK FARCE WITH OLD KANNADA PASSAGES

B. Lady Charition, rejoice with me at my escape !
A. Great are the gods.
B. What gods, fool (?).
A. Cease, fellow.
D. Wait for me here and I will go and bring the ship to anchor.
A. Go ? For see, here come their women from the chase.
B. Oh ! What huge bows they have

**sacrilege. For how will they listen to the prayers of those who are about to gain mercy by wickedness ? The propertyfn**

zaparda piskou piskate man arei man ridaou oupatei...a[1] ( Five drummings )

King. A boundless barbaric dance. I lead, O goddess moon. With wild measure and barbaric step; Ye Indian chiefs, bring the drum of mystic sound.[2] The frenzied Seric step. ( Much drumming and beating )

All, Orkis.*

B. What do they say again ?

C. He says, dance.

B. Just like living men. ( Drums ).

C. Throw him down and bind him with the sacred girdles. (Much drumming. Finale ).

B. They are now heavy with drink.

C. Good ; Charition, come out here.

A. Come, brother, quickly ; is all already ?

C. Yes, all; the boat is at anchor close by ; why do you linger? Helmsman, I bid you bring the ship alongside here at once.

D. Wait till I give him the word.

B. Are you talking again, you bungler? Let us leave him outside to kiss the ship's bottom.

C. Are you all aboard ?

All. Aboard.

A. O Unhappy me ! A great trembling seizes my wretched body. Be propitious, Lady goddess I Save thy hand-maiden !

1. *Olisadiha poradappisiko oppisi kodpmmandrai emmanaridu oppade.* You will forfeit the happiness of this and the other world without yielding to the will of the king (I. *e.*, if you do not yield to the will of thes and the other world

| M | B | P |
|---|---|---|
| 9. *Nlrmārga grāma* Arhbaratāya, Sarhbaratāya, Indravalḷitāya, Kaṇṇāraṇa, Kambaraṇa, Irvanturāya, Koyakōditāya, Mittannḍukatāya (8) | 9. *Nirumārga grāma* Icalutāya, Anahtḍḍitāya, Thālarhpāditāya, Taralāya, Mā-varāya, Kumārahtāya (6) | 9. *Nirumārga grāma* Ucalatāya, Anahtḍḍatāya, Alampiḍitāya, Kaṇṇāraṇṇāya, Kumārahtāya, Māvaṛatāya (6) |
| 10. *S'rīmantiiru grāma* Srīmahtūrāya, Sibarurāya, Munnūrāya, Mucchantāya, Maḍikuḷāya, Seḍikuḷāya, Asurapeṇṇāya (7) | 10. *S'imahtūru grāma* Simantūrāya, Sibarāya, Maṇṇurāya, Ipprantāya, Mukyaṅtāya, Muḍikuḍalāya, Siḍikaḷatāya, Aḍarāya, Barvanāya (9) | 10. *Simanturu grama* As in B except for 3rd, 5th & 7th for which readMunnurāya, Maccantāya, and Maḍikaḷatāya respectively (only 8) |
| 11. *Tenakaḷa grāma* Monenāya, Mittahtāya, Maḍumannāya, Vailāya, Kācantāya, Bakkuṇnāya, Barkaṇṇāḍitāya, Ulḳura"ya (8) | 11. *Tenakaḷa grāma* M>gerāya, Mittatāya, Maḍumaṇṇāya Varāya, (idakke pratināma *[contfa]* Kañcitāya), Vokuḍināya, Uḷirāya, Malliñji-nāya, Kabekoḍināya (8) | 11. *Tenakaḷa grāma* As in B but read for 1st, 2nd, 4th *contra*, 6th, 7th Mdnenāya, Mittōhtāya, Kōpōntāya, Ulyarāya, Mallyabañjināya (8) |
| 12. *S'ivabeḷḷi grāma* (120) See below | 12. *S'ivabeḷḷi grāma* (120) See below | 112. *S'ivabeḷḷi'grima* (120) See below |
| 13, *Ajapura grama* Orambujitāya, Ugrambaḷitāya, Ulḷurāya, Kairambaḷitāya, Aḷḷya, Aṣṭamūrtitāya, Hebbāra, Sabojetāya (8) | 13. *Brahmapura grāma* Uḷuru, UṅgarapaḷḤ, Oramballi, Kairarhhaḷḷi, Aḷapāyi, Aṣ\amūrti, Hebbāra, Samblāja (8) | 13. *Brahmapara grāma* Orarhbaḷḷi, Kairambaḷḷi, Uhgurapaḷḷi, Uḷḷūra, Alapa, Aṣṭamūrti, Hebbāra, and the last omitted (8) |
| 14. *Nīlāvara grāma* Nāritāya, Kallurāya, Eḍavaṭṭināya, Annitāya, Tumbekallāya, Hebbāra, Maddhyastha, Nuñciṅgāya (8) | 14. *Nirvāra grāma* Nāritāya, Yaḍabeṭṭanāya, Kallūrāya, Tumbikalāya, Hebbāra, Nūjiṇṇāya, Makkitāya, Pāḍitāya (8) | 14. *Nirāvara grāma* Leaf in the Ms. torn...ya... Eḍebeṭṭināya, Kallūrāya, Makkitāya, Tumbillāya, Hebbāra, Nūjitāya, Pāde (8) |
| 15. *Kōṭa grāma* Haṅde, Bāśiri, Tunga, Nāvaḍa, Hoḷḷa, Mayya, Hebbāra, Kāraṅta, Kāraṅta's represen. tative Aṇṇa Kāraṅta, Maiyya's rapresentative Aṇṇa Hēraḷa (8 + 2) | 15. *Kūṭa grāma* Haṅde, Bāsari, Tuṅga, Nāvaḍa, Hoḷḷa, Mayya, Hebbāra, Kārvavanta (8) | 16. *Kūṭa grāma* Tuṅga, Kāraṅta, Hēraḷa Haṅde, Bāsiri, Nāvuḍa, idakke pratināmavādā Nāvuḍa Hoḷḷa (Total ?) |
| 16. *Kaṅdāvara grāma* Uḍupa, Hebbāra *(2)* | 16. *Skandapnra grāma* Same as in M | 16. *Skandapura grāma* Same as in M<br>See above No. 4.<br>17. *(0)manjūrū grāma* Māḍahtillāya (1) |

| M | B | P |
|---|---|---|
| 1. *S'ripadi grama* Kuñjamaṇṇāya, Kauḍambaḍitāya, Pāhgaṇṇāya, Atrāḍitāya, Baipāḍitāya (5) | 1. *S'ripadi grama* Kuñjamaṇṇāya, Vaipāḍitāya, Putraṇṇāya (4) | 1. *S'ripadi grama* Kuñjamaṇṇāya, Koṇḍapāḍitāya, Baipāḍitāya, Atrāḍitāya, Pāhgaṇṇāya (5) |
| 2. *Vaḍifa grāma* Aḷavaṇṇāya, Puḷihtāya (2) | 2. *Oḍila grāma* Aḷumaṇṇāya, Uḷipoḍitāya(2) | 2. *Koḍila grāma* Arhbuḷḷamaṇṇāya, Pulikoditāya (2) |
| 3. *Nāḷa grāma* Paḍuvahtāya, Malepāḍitāya(2) | 3. *Nāḷe grāma* Maḍipāḍitāya, Parvantāya(2) | 3. *Nāḷa grāma* Same as in B but read for the second Maḍuvaritāya (2) |
| 4. *KarandUru grāma* Capagetāya, Pannetāya (2) | 4. *Karandūru grāma* Sampagenāya, Edakelatāya (2) | 4. *Karandurū grāma* Same as in B |
| 5. *Ujjari grama* Vappahtāya, Arimanitāya, Kukkōḍitāya, Mundatāḍitāya, Muḍapāḍitāya, Aripāḍkāya, Cillaṇṇāya, Arbitāya (8) | 5. *Ujjire grama* Armanetāya, Vappahtāya, Kōkarāḷitāya, Aripāḍkāya, Muṇḍapāḍitāya, Kemmunḍāya, Arbatāya, Baliaṇṇāya, (8) | 5. *Ujjirya grāma* Same as in B |
| 6. *Kūnjamārga grāma* Puratāya, Kuñjamārgatāya, *(grha eraḍu oṅnē)* Perāḍitāya, Muccintāya, Aikitāya, Maḍuvināya, Kuhdaṇṇāya, Korahgināya, Kakkaraṇṇāya (8) | 6. *Kunyamārga grāma* Peraḷatāya, Kunnimārgentāya *(ivu iraḍu sandeha)* Peraḍitāya, Upparaṇṇāya Icaltāya, Itahtāya, Maḍavināya, Kuduṇṇāya, Putayatāya, Koḍañcināya, Karakaṇṇāya (9) | 6. *Kūnjamārga grāma* Peraḷātāya, Kuñjamārgatāya *(eraḍu sandeha)* Peraḍetāya, Muccaṇṇāya, Yaccantāya, Maḍavināya, Kudyaṇāya. Putrāya, Kōrjināya, Kakkaraṇe (8) |
| 7. *Kokkaḍa grāma* Iḍepāḍitāya, Sabarāya, Uppāraha, Koḍitillāya (4) | 7. *Kokkaḍa grāma* Toḍilāya, Sabarāya, Yaḍapāḍitāya, Upparaṇṇāya (4) | 7. *Kekkaḍa grāma* Same as in B but read for the 1st Tēḍilāya, and add Nūḍitāya (5) |
| 8. *Rāmifija grāma* Nōritāya, Majṭināya, *avana pratinidhi* Tenjitaya, Parlatāya (4) | 8. *Ramānja grāma* Nūjitāya, Maṭatāya, Munnūrāya (3) | 8. *Rāminja grāma* Same as in B but for the 1st read Nūratāya (3). The word Bhaṭṭa is added here. |
| 9. *Pude grāma* Pudināya, Ametdḍitāya, Paraḷatāya, Illaḍitāya (4) | 9. *Pude grama* Pudināya *(ubhaya gṛha 1)*(1)] | 9. *Pude grāma* Pudenāya (1) |
| 10. *Baḷpa grdma* Biritāya, Umminitāya, Ammār kāya (3) | 10. *Beḷapāḍi grāma* Bāritāya, Ummaraṇṇāya, Ammaṇi *(gṛha 1 saṁ'saya)* (3) | 10. *Baḷḷā grāma* Same as in B but read for the 2nd Uccaraṇṇāya |

| M | B | P |
|---|---|---|
| 11. *Errāḍa grāma* Muḍariipāḍitāya, Yeḍekillāya, Ibbāḍitāya.'Musepāsitāya (4) | 11. *Irnaḍu grama* Takaraṇḍāya, Muṇḍapāḍitāya, Sabarāya, Ulapāḍitāya, *(ubhaya gṛha* 4) | 11. *Errāḍa grāma* Same as in B but read for the 1st Kakkaraṇṇāya |
| 12. *Iiękedu grāma* Maṇikaḷtāya, Keḷtāya, Ṣaḍariga, Abihtāya, Maṇṇaṅgaltāya, Arurhbaḍtāya (6) | 12. *Iḍakedu graṁa* Maṇikalatāya, Saḍaṅgatāya (2) | 12. *Idakeḷu grāma* Same as in B |
| 13. *Kemmi ñja grām a* Bijetāya (1) | 13. *Kemminja grāma* Bajatāya (1) | 13. *Kemminje grāma* Bajetāya(l) |
| 14. *Paōinja grāma* Iḍebeṭṭināya, Aniñjetāya (2) | 14. *Paīihja grāma* Eḍabeṭṭunāya (1) | 14. *Paīinja grāma* Same as in B |
| 15. *S'riyadi grama* Siriyāḍitāya, Kuṇṭārantāya, Kunkoditaya, Bajitillaya, Kemmuṇḍetāya (5) | 15. *S'iriyaði grūma* Kaiiṇūraya (I) | 15. *Siriyaði grāma* Kuṇṭarāya (1) |
| 16. *Kodipaḍi grama* Irakattataya,Ponnetaya, Arkaṅtāya, Seretāya, Kajakaṅ-Ītāya (5) | 16- *Koḍipāḍi grāma* Pānatāya, Irekalatāya (2) | 16. *Koiipaiĭ grāma* Same as in B |

## 2. ṠIVAḶḶI GRAMA ( CALLED IN ALL VERSIONS ŚIVABEḶḶI )

**The main regulation the Sivaḷḷi grâma is thus given in P:—*modalu hattu naḍu nalvattu haḍe eppattu hattarakūḷe hadi-mūru nalv attar alii¯nalku yeppattaralli ȯndu ȧntu ´sreṣṭha &ṛha hadineṇṭu.***

**In B the same is given thus:—**

***modalu hattu naḍu nalvattu haḍe ippattu hattaralli hadina-idu nalvattaralli nalku ippattaralli ondu antu srestha grha ippattu.***

**In P it means thus in English:—** The first ten middle forty-the last seventy-with three added to the first ten, four out of forty, and one out of seventy, these eighteen house-holds are the best ".**

**In B the same reads thus in English:—" The first ten-middle forty-the last twenty. With five added to the first ten, and four out of forty, and one out of twenty-these twenty households are the best ".**

**The following regulation is common to both the versions P & B:—**

***nalvattaralli mūvattārᵾ madhyama bhīvjana pratibhōjana mātra eppattaralli arvattombattu tantu mātra ardha brāhmaru.* (Out of forty thirty-six are middling Brahmans, while sixty out of seventy are Brahmans onlẏ in name, i. *e., taṅtu mātra brāhmaru.* )**

**N. B. Neither the main regulation nor its subsdiary can be seen in M. And in both P & M *ippattu* is sometimes written by the scribe for *eppattu.***

| M | B | P |
|---|---|---|
| 1. *Alevuru grāma*<br><br>Alevūrāya, Koḍañcatāya, Maḍipuḷitāya, Mafijatāya, &araḷāya, Kuttubuḷitāya (6)<br><br>2. *Sagari grāma*<br><br>Sagaritāya, Tenkillāya, Naḍvaṅtillāya, Kuñjitāya (4)<br><br>3. Putturāya, Bāyiri, Kēkoḍe (3) Their representatives: Alevurāya's brother Kedilāya, Kaftukaṭṭatāya, Koḍaftca's brother Koḷatāya (3) (These are i the additions) | 1. *Alevuru grama*<br><br>Alevūrāya, Koḍeñca, Mañjitāya, Saraḷāya, KaḍaṁbaḤtāya (6)<br><br>2. *Sagari grāma*<br><br>Same as in M but read for the first Sagurirāya | 1. *Alevūra grāma*<br><br>Same as in B<br><br>2. *Saguri grāma*<br><br>Same as in M but read for the last Kufijatāya |

AH the three versions are agreed on the following four households being the best ( *'sreṣṭha* ) : —

Baṇṇifijetāya, Korenāya or Kornāya, Maraḍitāya, and Sivatāya. (But M however adds two households in the Muftjuru grama-Manjuraya and one household in the Kunjūru grāma-Kuftjurāya, to the above list).

We give here only the account as found in P, since it is the clearest of all the three.

The 4 best households as given in P are the following:—

Baṇṇifijetāya, Korenāya, Maraḍitāya, and Sivatāya. From M we know thatBanninjetaya belonged to the Banninje grāma, Korenāya to Indravalḷi, Maraḍitāya to Ciṭṭupādi, and Sivatāya to Sivalḷi grāma.

The rest of the 36 households as given thus in P & B:—

Kramadharetaya, Kekoḍinaya (Terikoḍinaya in B ), Kantarantaya, Sittilaya, Aruḷitaya, Karambajitaya Paḍilaya, Nṙḍilāya, Kaṇṇappinaya, Makkittāya (Maṅkitāya in B), Kadodinaya (Kottiladinaya in B ), Kodalaya, Parkalataya, Arimetāya, Koḷarhbetāya ( Koḷketāya in B ), Kokkoḍinaya ( Kakkaḍināya in B), ( Kallyaṭṭināya Kalaṭināya in B ), Maṇikalatāya, Antillāya ( Aṅkilāya in B ), Mūḍetāya ( Mūḍitāya in B ), Padetaya, Totantillaya ( Ko|antillaya in B ), Kunyamargantāya, Kaṇṇarāya (Kaṇṇūraya in B), Keḷaturāya, Maṇpannitāya, ( Maṇṇinnitāya in B ), Nēyampḷḷitāya, Baḍikillāya, Kalyāṇantāya, Nūjitāys, Koḍapaḷitāya, Nekkārantāya, Vakkināya ( Vatināya in B ), Simburattāya, Iḷanturāya (Politāya in B ), ( B adds Pudināya to the above list ). P. gives them as s*at-karmi niyataru.* But B. gives them as *trikarmis.*

M. also styles them as *tri-karmis* but supplies the following additional information:—

Baṇṇifije grāma:—the best household is that of Baṇṇihjetaya. Its disciples (*'sisyara )* are the following:-Krama-

dhāntāya* Teṅkōḍitāya, Kāṅtaraṅtāya, Sittilāya, Kamboḷitāya Nūjitāya, Kalyāṇaritāya, Kaḍillāya.

IfidravaḶh grāma:-Koreñaya is the best household.

Its disciples are the followingr-Koḍepoḷitāya, Poḷinnāya, Nekkarariṯaya, Siṁbaraṅtāya, Paḍillāya, Neḍillāya, Kaṇṇapitāya, Makkināya, Pakkimanāya.

Cittupadigrama:-Maraditaya is the best household.

Its disciples are the following:-Kodpitaya, Kodalaya, Pārkaḷaṅtāya, Arimetāya, Kallyaṭṭitāya, Māṇilatāya, Kuttiguḷināya, Kukkōḍitāya, Yeliyarititāya.

Siva Ḥi grāma :~Sivaṯaya is the best household. Its disciples are the following : Mūḍetāya, Pāḍitāya, K5ṭantilāya, Kuditamārgaritāya, Kaṇṇāraya, Kalatratāya, Moriōlitāya, Nēpāḍitāya, Maḍirāya.

## 3. 70 HOUSEHOLDS IN THE THREE[1] VERSIONS

Version M gives the following :—

Manjuru grama :-Manjuraya and Madantillaya are the best households. Kunjuru grama:-Kunjuraya is the best household. Its disciples :~Kaṅginaya, Mittilāya, Baḍki'āya. Kukkilāya, Pānejetāya, Kalarpbināya, Suṇṇaṅtāya, Oḷtāya, Niñjurāya, Nellitāya, Mallyaṅtāya, Baḷaṯaya. These 12 households can inter-dine.

Hebbāra, Beḷtyatāya, Tdṇitāya, Karkaṭetāya, Manōḷitāya, Nurgetāya, Vadvapāḍitāya, Elikuḍātāya, Ubōḷitāya, Cchakerāya, Garigalaritāya, Bōritāya, Milḍacaḍutāya, 1 ōḍināya, Bdḷiẏāya, Arcitāya, Kuvallāya, Gaḍairāya, lō.āḍitāya, Kuddurāya,Koḍaṅtāya, Deyyaṅginaya, Survataya, Arkitāya, Nūjināya, Kaḍañcitāya, Kaṇṇatāya, Kaḷitāya, Māḍāḍitāya, Dōṇitāya, Putyetāya, Mudemataya, Ujjiriyatāya,[1] Akōṭihebbara, Anetaya, Nakkantaya, Kallolitaya, Nijagopitaya, Kayeritaya, Appuccitaya, Maipaditaya, Kotiraya, Bolillaya, Naḍinnāya, Mēlaḍitāya, Permudetāya, Kōḷavetsya, Macillāya, Iretāya, Perlāya. Ihese are Brahrnans only ' in name

( *tantu matra Brahmanaru* ). The\ are king's servants ( *rāja kiṅkararu* ). They are entitled to the privilege of dining in the same line with other ( *paṅkti bhōjana mātra prati bhōjana villa* ). They are not entitled to the privilege of *pūja saṁparka,* etc., for having intermarried with the Brahmans who had been condemned bv ParaSurāma.

Version P and B give the following :

Version P says that Kuñjurāya is the best household. It enumerates the 70 households in the following order :

Kariginaya (Ḷaggmaya in B ), Mittilāya, Kuñjalāya ( Kuttilaya in B ), Penambe ( Pananii in B ), Sunnantaya. Kalambi. ( Ulitaya is given here in B ), Ninjurāya, Nellitāya, Alallyataya ( Mallyantayu in B ,), Hebbapa, Bellavatti ( Beḷapati in B ), Beḷḷyaraya ( Belayaraya in B ), Toṇitāya, Karkatataya, Naṁilataya, Durge, Vaḍpe ( Vadetaya in B ), Paḍi, Ubbali, Cakkeraya, Mangalaritaya ( Maṁgalataya in B ), ( Voritaya is added here in B ), Maṇḍaca ( Maṇḍabettaya in B), Aḍukataya, Toḍi ( Kodilaya in B ), Velikoḍi, Goh ( Kulitaya in B ), Ruvallaya ( not found in B ), Aṇṇappi, Guḍḍe ( Guḍe in B ), Deṅge ( Deyiginaya in B ), ( Koḍilaya is given here in B ), Kuṇḍaritaya. Kuduraya. Areya, Kuditaya, Surya, Niiji, Koḍariibe, (Koḍanji in B), Kaṇṇapalli, Muṇḍaḍi, Doṇi, Puḍumale ( Mudumale in B ), Puttya ( Putiye in B ), Ujare, Akkuti ( Kokkodi in B ), Hebbara, Nakkatte, Ane, Kalyaḷi, Agali, Mukkc, Nijamkopi (Nijikoṣi), Irvatturaya, Apucce, ( Apiye in B ), Maipaḍibeṭṭinaya ( Maipaḍi and Bevinaya in B), Kottinaya ( Kovinaya in B ), Kuduriya, Kolambe (Kolaṇji in B), (Kalaya is added here inB), Jogimajalaya (Majalaya in B ), Todinaya, Iretaya, Perlaya, Kabekoḍi ( Kabetoḍi in B ) Majjataya (Maṁjitaya in B ), and Piye ( Beye in B ).

B gives the following verse in connection with the above Brahmans.

*pātitya anugataḥ kecit kecit prāclna Taulavaḥ,* I
*Rāma saptā dvijā kecit Brāhmaṇāḥ tafitumātrakaḥ* II

( Some were fallen : some were the ancient T au ḷavas ; and some others were those who had been condemned by Rāma [ Jāmadagnya ]. These were Brahmans only in name ).

4. THE BRAHMANS OF SIVAḶḶI GRAMA AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD ( ? )

Only version P gives the following interesting details about the Brahmans of the Sivaḷḷi grāma :—

SivabeḷḶi grāma 300 *(S'ivabeḷḷi grām ada Brāhmara 300 idakke vlvara ).*

*Alevuru emha beṭṭinalli vivara 400* (?) (This passage unfortunately has been left out while transcribing from the original ).

*Teṅkanura vivara* ( 100 in the southern locality ) Kalla-mañja, Mañjatabeṭṭu, Kaḍambujabeṭṭu, Kōḍaṅgaḷa, Manda-rāḍi—*idu tenka nāra vivara.*

Paramballi Kakkunje Nujitabettu-orrfu *ainurara vivara.*

*Nadu munnurara virara* Banninja, Kadapadi, Paduvu, Pāḍigâra.

*Uḍupi nūrara vivara* Saguri Manki Buṇḍnāru *ahtu nūru.*

*Paḍumunnurara vivara* Kodavuru, Arkalabeṭṭu. Behugale *idu munnūru.*

*Mudamnnnurāra vivara* Heraga, Parka la, Kuḍigrāma. Perṇankilu *antu munnūru.*

*Mudanannurara vivara* Cittupadi, Kemmuttilru, Māyar-pāḍi, Bailuru *antu nanūru.*

*Paduṇannurara vivara* Nidurhburu, Kaṇṇarapaḍi, Kedūru, Niṭṭuru, Putturu, Neyambaḷli *antu muru savira.*

Thus from the above it appears that in and around Sivaḷḷi there were three thousand Brahman households, thereby justifying to some extent the remarkable popularity of Uḍipi as a centre of pious and learned men in early days.

## 5. HOUSEHOLDS DIVIDED ACCORDING lO PROFESSION

(M styles them as *Ekadasi viniyogadavaru)*

*Agmhotri J ana*

| M | B | P |
|---|---|---|
| Alevūrāya, Simantūrāya, Mucchaṅtāya, Munnuŕaya, Kuḍafica, (Maḍipaḥtāya), Mañjatāya, Kuñjitāyā, Naḍvantilāya, Sagaritāya, Teṅkilāya, Kaḍambalitaya, Kekode, Korenaya, Banniñjetāya, Maraditāya, Sivatāya, Idepāditāya, Pāṅgannāya, Uḍupa, Iritāya, Kuṇjūrāya, Mittahtāya, Sarajāya (24) | gimantūrāya, Mucaṅtūrāya, Munnūrāya, Alevūrāya, Koḍafica, Mañjetāya, Saraḷāya, Maḍipaḷitāya, Kaḍambaḷitāya, Kuñjitāya, Naḍvantilāya, Saguritaya, Tenkilaya, Putraya. Tekuḍenā\a, Bāyiritāya, Kallurāya, Baipāḍitāya, Yappaṅtāya, Idepāditāya, Koranāya, Maraditāya, Uḍupa, Brahmakāranta, Banninjetaya, Sivetāya (26, the additions being Brahmakaranta and Uḍupa). | Same as in B but without Saralaya, Uḍupa, and Brahmakāranta. |
| | *Smārthas* | |
| Taletaya, Naralataya, Aryappinaya, Kikidenaya,Nuritaya, Cchaṁpagetāya,Malepaḍitāya, Kallurāya,Uḍupa, Baipāḍitāya, Alevūrāya, Muḍapāḍitāya, Kōrirv inaya, Brahmakāranta (14) | Nujitaya, Kidenaya, Naralataya, Tafantraya, Ayyapinaya, Manṇakalatayā,Alevuŕayā,Brahmakāranta,Kallūrāya, Uḍupa, Baipāḍitāya, Korṅgināya, Muṇḍapāḍitāya, Koḍafuca (14) | Same as in B but read for the 2nd, 4th, and 13th Kidekinaya, Tajataya and Muḍampaditaya (13) |

*Bhaṭṭas*

| M | B | P |
|---|---|---|
| Munnuraya, Alevuraya, Peranṇāya, Mañjataya, Baipāditāya, Pijetaya, Paruraya. Indravaḷitaya, Mucchantaya, Sirimahturaya, Kodenaya, Badikoḷataya, Kuñjataya, Maḍuvtnaya, Kudanca, Kalluraya, Mogeraya, Brahmakaranta, Uḍupa, Vappantaya, Nuritaya, \rimanetaya, Idepaditaya, Saraḷaya, Sabaraya, Uparana, Irvatturaya, Mudarhpaditaya, Bajetaya, Paralataya, Kenkilaya, Bayiritaya, Kekode, Korinnaya, Banninjetaya, Maraditaya, Sivataya, Naḍvantilava, Kamboḷitaya (40) | Munnuraya, Arinaya, Kovinaya, Peranṇaya, Koyamegetaya, Kuduraya, Majjitaya, laḷetaya, Pijitaya, Paturaya, Iriduvaḷitaya, Koḷakodanaya, Slmantūraya, Puñcanaya, Mucarittiraya, Mogera\a, Mitraritaya, Alevuraya, Tuṅga, Brahmakaranta, Kalluraya, Udupa, Baipaḍitaya, Atra'litaya, Apparitaḍitaya, Belannaya, Aremanetaya, Iḍapaditava, Sabaraya, Uparaṇṇaya, Korginaya Ametaditaya, Sambaraya. Kolatava, Mudarnpaditaya, Bajitaya, Kornaya, Saguritaya, Maḍantilaya. Paturaya (40) | Same as in B but read for the 3rd, 7th, 8th. 11th, 14th, 16th. 33rd, 37th, 38th, 39th and 40th Koṭṭinaya, Mafijataya, Tatralataya. Indravalitaya, Muccantaya, Mittontaya, Sabaraya, Putraya, Bayiritaya and Kekudenaya respectively (40 |

*Tarttris*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| lcalataya, Netrataya, Pariga-ṛṃāya, Putturaya (4) | Netrataya, Icaiataya, Putraya, Pangaṇṇaya, Uḍupa, Brahmakaranta (6) | Same as in B but without the last two And the 1st is called Netrataya |

### *Paṇḍitas*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Vappantāya, Pijetāya, (2) | Kalluraya, Upparannaya (2) | Same as in B |

### *Pakṣanāthas*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Mūḍilāya, Niḍumbūrāya (2) | Nīḍilāya, Niḍubūrā\a (2) | Omitted in P |

## *Ballaḷas*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Talepāḍitāya, Mañjunoḍitāya, Kufijimaṇṇāya, Kōḍambāḍitāya (4) | Talepāḍi, Mañjanoḍi, Xidumbiiru, Miidila (4) | Same as in B but all are styled *ayas.* |

### *Grāmas*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Kidekidenaya, Śulyannaya, Kdjikuñjetāya, Kamōṭi, Srimariṭuṟaya, Ambaraṅṭaya, Madumaṇṇāya, Naḍvaṅṭilāya, Nāritāya, Uḍupa, Aṭrāḍitāya, Carhpagetāya, Kuḍavannāya, Iḍepiḍātāya, Arimanetāya, Pudinnāya, Maṇikajatāya, Nūritāya, Eḍevaṭṭināya, Mittantāy?, Mūḍampāḍitāya, Parlatāyr (22) | Pāturāya, Poyyatāya, Śujlaṇṇāya. Kikidenāya, Kōṭañjitāya, Tennarāya, Kaṇṇaraṇṇāya, Māḍantilāya, Naḍvantilāyā, Kuñjitāya, Hēralа, Kāranta. Nāritāya. Iḍabeṭṭināya, Hebbāra, Sampigetāya, (in Nirāvara), Arhbaraṇṇāya, Aramanetāya, Māḍappināya, Putraṇṇāya, Kakaraṇṇāya, Kinakalatāya, Uḍupa, Urarhballi 24)) | Pārurā\a, Poyyatāya, Gujlyoṇṇāya, Kikidenāya, Koṭṭināya, Innirāya, Kaṇṇāraṇṇa, Mūdantilāya, Naḍvantilāya, Kuñjatāya, Hēraḷa, Kāraṅta, Nāritāya, Iḍebeṭṭināya, Hebbāra, Ssmpagetāya (in Nilāvara), Ambaraṇṇāya Armanetāya, Maḍappināya, Putranāya, Kakkaraṇṇa, Okalatāya, Uḍupa, Orambaḷḷi (24) |

*Adhivāsis*

| M | B | P |
|---|---|---|
| Aripāḍitāya, Maḍuvinnāya, Kaṇṇāraditāya, Arbitāya, Kodvaṭṭirāya, Aggitāya, Depujetāya, Kabekottāya, Kidelūrāya, Baḷḷuḷḷāya, Gaftjitāya, Bāritāya, Poyyatāya, Iddillāya, Cilaṇṇāya, Mittaḍkatāya (16) | Alevūrāya, Pagaṅpināya, Tāretāya, Aṇṇakuñjitāya, Bāsakaṇṇāya, Kedaṭirāya, Arbirāya, Pelāḍitāya, Kannarāḍitāya, Kambaraṇṇāya, Uliyārāya Kabekoḍināya, Malaṁpāḍitāya, Eriṅkatāya, Bartoḍitāya, Puñjukaṇṇāya, Kudurāya, Niñjurāya, Iravattūrāya. Nambunittāya, Jātōḍitāya (21) | Alevūrāya, Paṅgappināya, Kāretāya, Kaṇṇakuftjatāya, Bārikuṇṇāya, Kedaṭerāya, Kapekḍiṇāya, Parikatāya, Tḍḍitāya, Pañjikaṇṇāya, Kudurāya, Kuñjurāya (12) |
| | *Jannis* | |
| Seḍikuḷḷāya, Madiḳu ḷḷāya, Mittaṅtāya, Vailāya, Kuñjatāya, Mañjatāya, Kemuṇḍetāya, Maḍampāḍitāya, Malepāḍitāya, Hebbāra, Ugrabajḷitāya, Iḍeveṭṭināya, Iḍekallāya, Koyakoḍitāya, Uljirāya, Mūḍillāya, Maṭṭināya, Saṇṇaḍkatāya, Kuṇikuḍalāya, Anaṅtoḍitāya, Kaṇṇārāya, Kambāraṇa, Pudenāya, Pulihtaya, Saḍaṅga, | Maḍikuḍilāya, Siḍikuḍilāya, Tinakaḷatāya, Maḍumaṇṇāya, Kapunjaya, Vailaya, Mafijitaya, Kemmuṇḍenāya, Voḍambāḍitāya, Kabetodināya, Hebbāra, Urigurapajli, Ecḥbeṭṭināya, K.'koḍenāya, Raipatāya, Koḍitillāya, Bābetilāya, Madilāya, Urāḷ?, Kuduretāya, Teñjitāya, Kuntarāya, Maratāya, Amaṇ- ñāya, Bayaṭaya, Pudenāya, | .....Kuḍulāya, Sesikaḷatāya, Māḍumaṇṇāya, Kācukuñja, Vailāya, Mañjatāya, Kemmuṇḍanāya, Oḍampāḍitāya, Kabekoḍināya* Hebbāra, Uhgu...la, Eḍebeṭṭināya, Edekallāya, Kokkoḍatāya, Aripatāya, Toḍitillāya, Bābetillāya, Mūḍillāya, Uraḷa, Kuduretāya, Tengyāyitāya, Māṭharitāya, Amarṇatāya, Bāryetāya, Pudenāya, |

Irekafţutāya, Pāḍitāya, Holļa,' Mulatāya, Arduṇḍāya, Amba- Mūlatāya, Aduṇḍatāya, Amba-
Mayya, Paḍatāya, Okuṇṇāya, raṇṇāya, Ulţitāya, Paḍḍilāya, raṇṇāya, Hulţitāya, Eḍepuyya-
Ammaṇitāya, Kambalitoḍi- Eḍepuļiţaya, Urāya, Paḍiţaya, tāya, Puļa, Paḍpillāya, Irakaṭa-
tāya Arimaṇitāya, Pellikari- Irekaḍiţava, Poṇeţaya, Uḍupa, tāya, Poṇetāya (38)
tāya, Ponnetāya, Maḍintilāya, Herala (38)
Mūsevāsitāya (38)

---



B gives the following as the *marỹade* or usage of the Jannis :—*qtta murida akki* 2, *aidu mole dana 1, tappi bahda gdvu* 2, *keggoda* 2, *jcdu mara* 2, *kupa* 2, *kula-'srankhala, manakaţe S'rahga vaḍya* 2, *nadạ mudị* 2, *pakṣākvāṭạ* 7, *makara tōraṇa 1, dlpa māţa-sthaṁbha* 2, *do\amanỹi 1, kettụ eddu bahda henṇụ* 2, *ratna kaṃbalị* 2, *cchatra* 2,-these sixteen *kaṭṭaḷes* or regulations are said to have been established by Lokāditya Rāya.

M mentions these regulations for all, .'. e., those who made up the 10 *viñiyogas,* but not for the *adhivāsis.* We have described these in an earlier connection. ( See *supra* Ch. IV. Sec. 1. )

P also mentions these regualtions which we have likewise described in Ch. IV.

*Dhoregaḷu* ( Nobles )

'1 his list is given only in B :-

Kunda Heggaḍe, Muda Heggaḍe Mā̆rarhba Heggaḍe, Bidiresva Vomanjuru, Ramanatha, Bolada Desingataya, *nuraru maṅdi* Heggade, Ballālaru. These *tihores* were only nine in number.

*Savanturu* ( *i. e.*, Savantas )

Given only by B. Iravattilru Basava Sāvanta, Mulki Kinnika Sāvanta (2)

*Nāḍus*

| *M* | B | P |
|---|---|---|
| Kela-nādu, Nalvatta-nādu (2) | Same as in M | jKola-nāḍu, Nalvatta-nādu (2) |
| | *Kōḍus* | |
| Kāngōḍu, Kāsara-gōḍu (2) | Omitted in B | Kaṅjinōḍu, Kāsara-gōdu (2) |
| | *Blḍus* | |
| Baindūru, Bhaṭṭa-kala(2) | Same as in B | Baidiiru, Bhaṭṭakala (2) |
| | *Divaña* | |
| Kadari, Kārkala (2) | Same as in M | Same as in M |
| | *Dharmasthaña* | |
| Cauṭaru, Bangaru(2) | Omitted in B | Same as in M |
| | *Simhāsanas* | |
| Bārakūru, Maṅgu-lūru (2) | Same as in M | Bārakuru, Maṅga-kaḍarhba (?) (2) |

*Hoṇesthaña*

Only M gives the two names—Kadare and Kāntāvara (2

*Gaḍi*

Only *M* gives the *gaḍis* thus :—Sukti and Mukti (2)

*Kare* (boundary)

Only M gives the following:— Simhadn, £arādhi (2)

*KūḍuVa-ktita* (Assembly centres)

Only M gives the following:—Koṭa, Anantesvara (2)

*Vāda Kūta* (Centres ot Disputation)

Only M gives the following-: fiankaranārāyaṇa.

*S'aiva-Vaisṇava meeting place*

Only M gives the following :- Krōdamaṇḍala 'op cit. in Ch. IV.)

*Smrtikaŕaru* of the 32 *Grāmas*

Only *M* gives the following :—-Munmirāya, Alevurāya, Uppāraṇa, Kallurāya, Tāletāya, Udupa (7)

*Rājastharā*

Only B gives the following: .-Rarakuru, Ylangaifiru, Kaḍaba, Honnāvfiru.

## *Cāvaḍi*

*Ibid* gives the following :- -Kadari, Karkala.

The same version B gives the following :—*mannegaru Bhairava Bharata maryadegalu Barakftru hallarige modalu nōtavemba maryade hidihaccada maryade Kōte'svarakke bandalli KandaVaru maduva sanmana '-Kelamadavaru hidiva siddhayada suttige.* (Some of these obsolete terms do not form intelligent matter. B A. S.)

# Appendix C

## AḷUPA GENEALOGICAL TABLE

1. Aḷuv(k)a *circa* A.D. 450
2. Srī Māramma Alvarasar *circa* A.D. 575
3. Sakala Srīmat Aḷuvarasar *circa* A.D. 600
4. Kundavarmarasar (I) *circa* A.D. 625
5. Aluvarasar Gunasāgara *circa* A.D. 650
6. Citravāhana (I) A.D 675-700
7. **Ranasāgara *circa* A.D. 710-720**
8. Svetavāhana *circa* A,D. 720 730
9. Pṛthvīsāgara Alupendra *circa* A.D. 730-750
10. Vijayāditya Māramma *circa* A.D. 750- 770
11. Citravahana (II) A.D. 800
12. Kavi Vimaladitya (?) (Nrpamallaraja)
13. Alva Rananjaya A.D. 920-930

14. Dattājpendra Srimaña A D. 959 — Eñjala Devī m. Cāgi Sāntara

15. Kundavarmarasar (II) A.n. 967

16. Bankideva Alupendradeva (I) A.D. 1050 1058(1070) *m.* Bīrabbarasi — Mankabharasi m. Tailapa Deva I

17. Udayāditya Pāndya Pattigadeva Pattodeya A.D. 1070-1088(1132?) — Acala (Bucala) Devī m. Biruga Vira Santara

18. Pāndya Cakravartin Bhujabala Kavi Alpuendradeva A.D. 1113 1155
m. Pāṇḍya Mahādevī

19. Jagadevarasa A.D. 1156 1170

20. Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Vīra Kulaḷekhara Alupendra (I) AD. 1170-1275
m. Jākala Mahādevī

21. Nūrmmaḍi Cakravartin A.D. 1216 1236

22. Vibudhavasu A.D. 1244-1254

23. Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Alupendradeva (I) A.D. 1254-1267(1277)
m. Balla Mahādevī A.D. 1277

|

24. Nāgadevarasa A.D. 1292-1299
*m.* Mocala Devī

|

25. Bankideva Aliipendradeva ( I I ; A.D. 1302- 1315

|

26. Soyideva Alupendradeva A.D. 1315 1335...

27. Vira Kulasekharadeva ( I I ) A D. 1335 (?) 1345

|

28 Vīra Pāṇḍ\adeva ( I I ) A.D. 1346 1366

29. KulaSekhara *A* lupendradeva I I I ) A.*D.* 1366 1384 (1397)

|

30. Vīra Tāṇḍyadeva (IV) V.D. 1397 1436(1441)

|

31. Vira Kulaśekharadeva (IV) A.n. 1441 1444

*Unidentified Aiupa Kings*

1. Kulaśekhara Alupendra
2. Alupa Kumar a Jayasingarasa

*Minor Chieftains*

1. Karttaṇṇa Maraḷuva *alias* Komṇa A.D. 1405
2. Dēvaṇṇarasa *alias* Komṇạ A.D. 1524 1530
3. Manjanna Komna Bhupa (?)

# INDEX


A

Abhaya Candra Siddhānta, 411
Abhinava Bàla Krsṇānanda Sv.ʹami, a Smārtha guru, 455
Abhinava Cārukirti Pandan Ṽvcārya, 411
Abhinava Pampa, 357
Ahhinava Pandya Deva Odt»\u. king, 243
Abʹmāras, the, 40
Abvssmia, 351 (n)
Acala ( Bucala ) Dtvi. princess, 229, 230, 231
Acvutapreksa Acárya, a Vaisnava tṛuru, 41".', 418, 419, 420, 421
Acyuta Rāya, 19
\dakanellinjine, 461, 464
Adḍadaṇda, 518
Adeisaga, (Adisadra) , same as Ahicchatra, 335
Adhikāri Dcva Ajuva, 182, 284
Adhikári Sadāśiva Aigal, 180
Adhirājamangala, 244
Adhoksajatirtha, a Vaisnava cum, 430, 433
Adinātha, 96 (n)
Adi Paramc'svara, 415
Ādi Uḍipi, 105
Aḍiyapa Śetti* ſ'8
Adiyur Śantivarma, chrettam, 232 (n)
Adonbai Cakravartin, 54, 213 214
Aḍūr (mod-Pāṇḍipura), 42, 76-77, 203
Aḍūru Dere Baidya, 495, 507, 522, 526-529, 541, 574
Agastya, sage, 245, 247
Aghora Deva, 398
Aghora Śivācāna, 391 (n)
Agniketu, prince, 347, 34S
Agmruddha Krsnananda Svamy, a Smārtha guru, 455, 4 6 (n), 456
Ahaira, the 8, n
Ahicchnra, 298, 299, 300, 325, 328, 330, 131, 331 (n), 312, 333, 334, 335, 335 (n), 351
Ahavamalla Trailokaamalla, king. 31
Aibisctti, 113
Aihole-Mrguti, 76
AidQru, 169,170
Aikalabiivadakulu, 509
Vindalpatta, 518
Ain-ul-Mulk Gilnni, 154 (n)
Aiorum Regio (Ahi-desa) 61
Xivangar, S. K., scholar, 16 (n), 374 (n)
Ajapuri, see Brahmapuia, 299
Ajila, prince, 349
Ajjaṇṇa Sāhani, minister, 28S
Aiadahalli, 292
Alampurkot, 335
Alberuni, 56 (n)
Alevūrâya, 305
Aḷiya Bankidevarasa, 126, 127, 148, 149, 151, 163, 169, 179, 184, 191, 194, 360, 361
Allappa Adhikāri, 241
Altekar, A. S., scholar, 221 (n)
Alugurajupalle, 399 (n)
Alupas, Aluvas, the, 58-60, 60 (n) 61, 61 (n), 62, 62 (n), 63-64 (n).

66-69, 71, 78, 80, 90 (n), 91, 110, 121, 123, 136, 143, 145, 148, 151-152, 156-157, 162, 165-166, 170, 172, 174, 184-185, 187,196-199, 201 (n)202, 202 (n), 203-204, 220, 222, 224-225, 228, 232-233, 238-239, 244, 247-249, 255, 257, 258 (n), 260, 260 (n), 261, 266, 268-270, 275, 277, 280, 281-283, 285 (n), 288 (n), 292, 347 (n), 350 (n), 353,354,358,358, 401, 415
Mupa Kumara Paṇḍya, Jaya-Singarasa, 155, 156, 157, 162, 381
Alurkheda, 221 (n)
Aluva-arabar (Citravahana I), 208, 210
Aluva Dannāyaka, 286 (n)
Aluva Kotti, Setti, 154 (n)
Aluva Mahaprabha Tavanidhi Brahmā Gauda, 295 (n)
Alvanad, 233 (n)
Aluva Nāyaka, 281
A|uva Narayaria Ṡetti, 154 (n)
Aluva Pandi Setti, 154 (n)
Aluva Sankeya Nāyaka, 255, 257
Alva, chief of the Alvāḍi 600, 63 (n)
Alva, see Bankideva Alupendra-deṿa I, 229, 231
Aḷvatfi Six Hundred, 63 (n), 64 (n)
Ajvakheda (Ajuvakheda) Six Thouband province, 9, 56, 58, 58 (n). 63, 64, 65, 78, 84, 85, 93, 98, 200, 20 , 220, 221 (n), 224, 233 (n). 238, 269,2,0,275, 276, 277, 280
lva Ranarj ya, king, 93, 228, 229, 232 (n),'390
Amaralaya Kudilu grama, 424
Amarasimha, author, 377, 382 (n)
Amarāvati, 43
Ambadadi, Village, 518
Ambaḍadi Paṉjurli, a bhuta, 534
Amba Kṡitiṡa, 365
Ambatirtha, 425,426
Ammana Deva, king, 228
Amma, Yadava king, 436
Amoghavarsa I I , king, 393
Anandatlrtha, see Madhvacarya, the reformer
Ananta, 481
Anantanna Marakala, 487
Andāṡara, 117
Andhra (country) 246, 278
Andhras, the 198
Anegundi, 574
Anekallāvu, 515
Ankeya Nāyaka, commander, 292
Angaravarmā, prince, 347, 350 (n)
Angupesāra Polegan, 86
Annadāta Heggade, 136, 169, 184
Aṉnappa, a bhūta, 3.'3
Aṉnapa Odcyar, viceroy, 337, 353
Aṉṇa Hebbāruva, 289
Anna Heraḷa, 305
Aṉṇa Kāranta, 305
Aṉna Kuñja, 305
Aṉṇa Mañjanoḍi, 305
Anṇa Mittanõdi, 305
Aṉna Oramballi, 305
Anna Ugramballi, 305
Anola, 335
Anūpas, the, 197, 198 (n)
Anūpadesà, 207
Apaninta, 198
Arabs, the 324 (n), 482
Arabi, 370
Arabia, 408, 409

Araga Eighteen Kampaṇa, 295 (n) 364
Arakīrti, 223 (n)
Arajaiyan, 112, 113 (n), 116, 118
Arasubaṇ(e, 509
Arekalla, 184
Arhat, 344 (n), 405
Aridara Poleyamma, 221, 221 (n)
Arikesari Asamasamam Māravarmā, king, 215
Ankesarivarman Parānkusa Māravarman, king, 215, 215 (n), 216 (n), 217 (n), 219
Ariora, 335 (n)
Aritoḍu, 21
Ariya (Arya) Ayceuṇḍa, 225
Arjjanāpura, 153
Arjuna, hero, 42, 42t(n), 43,43 (n) 560
Arsiyakere tāluka, 292
Arubattuvūvantirumadam, 398
Aryanād, 326 (n)
Aryāvarta, 395, 409
Asandinād, 108 (n)
Asoka, Emperor, 9, 47, 51 (n), 374, 375 (n)
Aśvatthāma, hero, 18, 329
Atka (Adka), 520
Attāvara, 141
Attūru guttu, 509
Aufrecht, scholar, 393 (n), 394 (n)
Avalokiteśvara, Boddhisattva, 383, 384 (n)
Avici, 382 (n)
Avidheya, king, 44 (n)
Avimukta, 447
Ay chiefs, 245
Aygal, scholar, 376 (n) 459 (n)
Aykkucjli, 245
Ayodhyā, 371 (n)

B

Bābu Byāri, 463
Babbara Bāba, cheftain, 268 (n)
Babbu, see Koṛ'adabbu
Babbukuduru, 17, n.
Bādarāyana, Ṛsi, 418, 421, 423
Bācana Oḍeya, Kāṽya, 35, 180
Bādāmi, 23, 201 (n)
Badankāśrama, 420, 422, 423, 426, 435
Baddadāsa, Bappadāsa, cheftain,, 348, 352, 375, 376, 376 (n)
Baḍeberamunj, 517
Bāgavāḷu, 362
Bāgivāja, 292
Biigiyabbe, 267
Bagga, 514
Baiderlu, *bhūtas*, 373
Baila Bākuda, 475
BailQru, 283,288, 289, 379 (n)
Baindūru, (Baidūra), 340, 349
Bairapura, 112
Bākenenges, the, 194
Bākimār, 474
Bākaders (Bākucjers), the, 461, 464, 501, 506
Balacandra Sikhamani, 94, 95 (n), 401
Balakrsnananda Svami, a Smartha guru,455
Balapa (Belapa, Ballamañje), 302
Balātkāraganaṇa, 243, 243 (n), 415
Balavarmā, king, 344 (n)
Bālthittalu, 7
Bājehonnūr, 258
Bah, race, the, 17, 18
Ballaja Camupa, Ballu, Vallu, General, 276 (n)
Ballāḷa of Eḍambūru, 467, 4'" 474 (n), 499, 502, 513, 515, 522,

525, 526 (n), 529, 533, 538, 563, 577, 578,579
Ballalaof Kukyah, 541
Hallaḷa of Mardal, 465, 466, 492. 527, 539, 540, 542, 573, 578, 582
Hallāḷa of Paṅja, 467, 499, 501, 503, 506, 512, 532, 534, 566, 567, 595
Hallāla of l'anmale, 463, 469, 470 471, 474, 474 (n), 485,488, 491, 493, 498, 500, 504, 516, 524, 52<> (n). 529, 536, 565, 566, 569. 576, 579
Italia Mahadevi. queen 128, 130 163, 180. 359, 380
Hallāla Rāva (Diva) I, king 234, 240, 242, 268 269, 410, 411, 412 (n)
Haljamaṅje. 6, 370
Hallavaraba, 204
Ballavtggade, 126 127
KalliRāvi*. 383
Bāloli principality. 519
Balu, 529
Bammadewi, Alupa prince, 194. 360, 361
Haṇa, authot. 14
Baṇas. the, 251
Banvasi. Banavasi. Vanvasi Banavasenad 51 (n), 56 (n), 64-67, 71, 79 (n), 114 (n), 118, 198-199. 203-204, 207, 210, 220 221 (n). 223 228, 254-55. 285. 325-326. 331, 333 350 fn), 488
Bangkok, 55 (n)
Banga, Bangai, chiftain. 304, 306, 349, 459. 464
Bangalore, 47 (n)
Bankideva Alupendradeva I. 96-19, 167, 173, 179, 212. 214, 228, :29, 231. 232, 268
Bankideva Alupendradeva II, king 131-135 138, 150, 156, 162, 174, 190,283,403, 440
Banki Senabova, 136, 169, 184
Bankoja, 267
Baṇṇifije, 102, 105, 340
Baṇtra. 252
Baṇtval, 44 (n)
Bappanaṿ*u, 7. 320
Bappura, family, 17, IS
Baradavali, 285
Baraka P2 (n)
Barakantupura, 135
Barakuru Biirakanuru, Fakanur, Barahakanyapura. 31. 56, 65, 93, 96. 107, 109. 114. 126-130, 134-136, 145 163, 167, 172-473 (n), T.'4 175. 179, 180-182, 184, 206, 212 225-227, 233, 236-239, 243, 261, 272, 275-276, 280,283, 288,292-295, 297-300 (n), 309, H6-339. 341, 344, 344 (n), 345, 347. 347 (n). 348-349, 351-355 (n), 357 359-360, 388-390 (n), 402-403. 407, 414-415, 440, 518, 530, 535. 538
Barakanur Ghat. 275, 27h, 27H
Baraniisi, Varanasi, (Benares), Kasi. 90 (n). 137, 189, 190-1, 321, 322. 323. 387, 388, 418, 423, 455 (n)
Barbara, 28
Barbosa, Duarte. 14
Bareilly, 335
Barios, the 54
Barma, citizen, 50b
Bar ma Deva, Barma raw, king, 254, 254 (n)
Barmma Deva, prince, 229
Barmarasa Dannāyaka, 114 (n)
Baroda, 38

Bahar̃um (Basurepura), Barcelore 54, 54 (n), 104 10^ 108, 119, 130, 131, 440
Basava IX*va, chieftain, 280
Basti
Ammanavaru, 143,
Anantanāth̃a, 153, 154, 413
Dharmādhikan, 415 (n)
Ciurugala, Guru 182.240,282 283, 407
Nemiśvara, 99 100, 119, 121, 134, 138, 413
Pārśvanāth̃a, 414
Battamarasa, 225 (n)
Bāva, 233 (n)
Bayalnād, 269, 269 (n)
Belañje, 447
Belgah, 233 *(n)*
Belgaum, 433 (n)
Belgoḷa, 490, 494, 520, 523
Belkale, see Tenkanidivur, 379 (n)'
BelJaḷa Soyamayya, 400 (n)
Bellarasa Bammarasa, chieftain, 267
Belḷe, 416
Bēiūr, 250, 490, 520, 556
Beluvavi, 106, 107, 111, 166
Belvola 300, 262 (n)
Bendrey, scholar, 376 (n)
Bengirimandala, 211
Berampoḷḷi, 467
Bericetti Śaiva merchants, 396 (n)
Berijtiyakere, 281
Bettadapura, 63
Bettur, 436 (n)
B-sawada, 42
Bhadur, village, 335 (n)
Bhadrā, the, 46, 47 (n)
Bfradrabahu, Jaina teacher, 409
Bhadrappa Nāyaka, king, 456
Bhadrāsamudra, 456
Bhagavata-aradhva, 451 (n) 452(n)
Bhāgavata Sāmpradāya, 449, 450, 451, 452 (n)
Bhaira, king, 365
Bhairanua family, 147 (n)
Bhairava, prince, 365
Bhairavendra, prince, 365
Bhandarkar, D. R., scholar, 390 (n), 450 (n)
Bhandarkar, Sir R. G., scholar, 428,429, 429 (n). 430, 433 (n), 442, 450 (n)
Bhaṇḍāri, 351
Bhaṇḍigade, 452, 453
Bhānuklrti Maladhān Deva, Jama guru, 241
BhaVasvāmi, 251
Bharata, 12, 404
Bhiirataīirtha Śrīpāda, Śaiva guru, 140, 290, 403
Bhārgava, see Farasurāma
Bhārgavapuri, see Siddhapuskaranī
Bhatta, the fortune-tell ing, 466, 467
Bhatari-kula, 68, 251
Bhattacarya Prabhakara, a Smartha guru, 26. 375, 452, 453
Bhattakala (Bhatkal), 43 (n), 213, 304
BhaHapādācārya, a Śaiva guru, 453
Bhattitilla, 259, 335, 336
Bheruṇdeśvara, 204
Bhillama, Yādava king, 437
Bhlma, hero, 46, 427, 437, 560-561
Bhīmanakallu, 427, 438
Btmma, hero, 221
Bhoja Deva, king, 31

**Bhoja Rāja, king, 2, 4**
**Bhosana (Bhūsaṇa) Adhikān, 137**
**Bhṛgu, see Jamadagni**
**Bhujabala, prince, 229**
**Bhujabali Kavi Alupendra Pāṇḍya Cakrvartin, king, 98, 99, 101, 106-112, 115, 117-118, 121,122, 123, 161,161 (n), 163, 166, 167, 174, 187, 190, 205, 206,' 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 269, 271, 273, 277, 280, 358, 359**
**Bhujabala Kulaśekhara Alupendra, king, 99, 115, 119-122 (n)-123, 138, 142, 207, 255, 258, 260-261, 359, 381, 401, 403, 413**
**Bhūtāla Pāṇḍya, Bhūta Pāṇḍya, hero, 52, 53, 296, 303, 345, 347, 348,349, 352, 352 (n), 353, 354, 355, 355 (n), 356, 357,358, 361, 361 (n), 363, 364, 366, 367 (n), 375 (n)**
**Bhūtanātha, a spint, 349**
**Bhutappandi, ?67 (n)**
**Bhuvanāśraya, 150, 174**
**Bidirūm, (Bednore, Nagar) 264**
**BidirGru, Bidire, set* Mū^iubidre**
**Bihar, 8 (n), 22,41,41 (n)**
**Bijjalendra king, 63, 262, 262 (n)**
**Bijjala Devi, queen 229, 230**
**Bilhana, 205, 260**
**Bilikuñja guttu, 509**
**Billavars, the 6, 371, 460, 467, 468, 512, 547, 569, 570**
**Binnatfi Kāra, 483, 484, 537, 561**
**Bmnāna, prince, 349**
**Binni Verggade, 110**
**Bîra Ballya 475**
**Bira Kalkuda, see Kalkuda, hero**
**Birarasa, chieftain, 113, 113 (n), 116, 117, 118, 119,263, 264, 265, 266, 267**
**Birarasa Bammarasa, 265, 265 (n), 266, 266 (n)**
**Birabbarasi, princess, 228, 231**
**Bira Nolamba, chieftain, 225 (n)**
**Biravadi Candaya,, 99**
**Blreya Deva, 255, 257**
**Birmanna Baidya, 495, 496, 565**
**Biruga, Vira Sântara, king, 229, 230, 231,232**
**Birusa, 255**
**Bitteya Hebbāruva, 258**
**Bobbariye, a bhūta, 105, 371, 482, 497**
**Bobbariye Kunniyāle, 487**
**Boḷḷu, a dog 514**
**Bōjūru, 484, 485**
**Bombaya, 481**
**Bommala Devi, princess, 240**
**Bommarasfe, a 3antara king, 114 (n)**
**Bommeya, General, 258**
**Bommi Devarasa, chieftain, 241**
**Boppa Daṇḍādhipa, General, 276**
**Boppa Deva, king, 254, 269 (n)**
**Bovsring, writer, 44 (n)**
**Boyis, the, see also Mogers, 325, 516**
**Boygavamā, 89, 91, 184**
**Brahmā, a bhūta, 461, 485, 486, 487,491,503**
**Brahmara, a bhūta, 462, 516, 519, 542, 557**
**Brahmans, the, 2, 3, 6, 11 (n), 19, 24-28, 31, 33, 166, 193, 197, 202* 210, 294 (n), 298, 300, 310-313, 316, 318, 324 (n), 325, 325 (n), 326, 326 (n), 330-331 (n), 332-334 (n), 349-351, 368, 386, 398, 406-408, 447, 455 (n), 460, 462, 465-467, 521, 546-548, 568**

Brahmāvūru, (Brahmapura), 125, 126, 127, 140, 181, 189, 350,360, 402, 440
Brāhmānanda Svāmi, a Smārtha guru, 453 (n)
Brahmapura (Ajapuri), 302
Buchanan, traveller, 5, 278, 279, 369, 407, 408, 409, 471, 475, 477
Buddha Gautama, 377, 383
Buddha, king, 201
Buddhavarma, 201 (n)
Buddhisāgara, 418
Buddies, 216 (n), 324, 374, 380
Buddhism, 374-378, 381, 382, 384, 384 (n), 385, 450 (n)
Buddyanta, 468, 471, 473-475, 477, 496, 500, 501, 507, 509, 510, 525, 572, 581, 582
Buhler, scholar, 450 (n)
Bukka, king, 140
Buṇṭs, Bāragas, the 6, 79 (n), 154 (n), 192 (n), 295, 349, 350, 371, 375, 376 (n), 460, 461, 467, 468' 490, 544, 545, 549, 570
Burnell, scholar, 459 (n), 460 (n) 511
Byrasu Wotfeya, king, 409
Byzantion, 56 (n)

## C

Cājirāja, chieftain, 223 (n)
Cāgi Sāntara, king, 228, 232
Cakragoua, 278
Cakranadi.the324 (n)
Caldwell, scholar, 1, n.
Calukkiarasar, see Vijayāditya Satyāśraya
Cāmuna Bernāye, 534
Canara, 1, n.
Caṇcja, 7
Candagiḍi, Sandagiḍi, 505, 512, 531, 534, 535
Cāṇḍālas, the, 350 (n)
Candāvūru, 257, 258 (n), 286
Canda Gautfa, 362
Candrāngada, prince, 300, 326, 326 (n), 327 (n), 347, 348, 351, 352, 363,375
Candradatta, king, 312
Candragiri hill, soe Kalabappu
Candragin, the, see PayasvanI, the
Candragutti, 20
Candrāpīda, prince, 14
Candraśekhara, 2
Candraval|i, 327, 327 (n)
Cangāḷva, king, 63
Cangālvas, the, 61, 62, 62 (n), 63, 63 (n)
Canganāḍ (mod. Hunsūr tāluka), 61, 63
Cangalvadevaru *alias* Mariya Perggadc Pijduvayya, 63
Canta (Santara), 224
Cannanore, 483
Cara, 351
Cāru, 351
Cāruktrti Panchta, Jaina guru, 143, 146,240,242,410, 411, 412 412 (n), 415, 415 (n)
Caravattur, 2
Casin, 55
Catu Kutti, a bhuta, 371
Cattiga Deva, king, 203, 204 (n)
Catfala Devi, princess, 229, 230
Caudapa, author, 346 (n)
Caudappa Nāyaka, Cauda Gauda, king, 365,366
Caurāstradesa, 326
Cauta, Cavuta, Cau(ars,the, chieftains, 304, 306, 351, 408, 408 (n)

Cāvuṇḍa, 225
Cedi (Bundelkand), the countr>, 246, 391
Cennaya, of Edamburu, a guide, 462, 519, 533, 537, 577, 578
Cennaya, hero, 154 (n), 372 (n), 373 (n), 459, 462-464,467-468, 471, 474, 4.8-479, 483, 485, 488, 494, 496, 498-499, 501-502, 504-507, 509-510, 512-513, 517, 519, 521, 523, 525-526, 528-529, 531 - S35, 537-538, 556, 558-560, 562 564, 567-570, 572-574, 576, 578 581
Cera, Chera 9 49 50, 211, 214, 278
Ceruman Perumal, 29
Ceylon, 376
Charpentiei, scholar, 23
Chingleput district, 346 (n)
Chota Nagpur, 8, n.
Christians, the, 428 (n), 460, 4ftI
Cikkanāyakanahalji, 20
Cikkāyi Tāyi, Bukkāyi Tāyi, Ksnāyi Tāyi, Hoysala queen, 291, 287-292 (n)
Cimnaraja Odeyar, chieftain, 153, 154 (n)
Cītapāvans, the, 326 (n)
Citupātfi (Cttupāḍi), 304, 338, 345
Citrāngada ( Cantrangada ), prince, 342
Citravāhana I, king, Śrimat Ajuva Raja, 65, 69-78 (n), 79, 82-89, 91-93, 159, 165, 167, 186, 188-189, 202, 207, 210, 338, 386,
Citravāhana (II), king, 65, 93, 155, 218-221 (n)-222. 223,225, 258 (n)
Citrasedu, 71, 84, 210
Cochin, 38 (n), 482
Coimbatore, district, 53
Cokimayya, Bokimayya, Bokaṇa, General, 277
Cola, 211,212, 214, 276 (n), 394
Colama, king, 266
Colamandalam, 213, 276
Colas, the, 18 (n), 77, 78,211-213, 232. 246, 260
Colika Mattarasa, 63 (n)
Cōḥkeri Cōliyakeri, (Cola street), 213, 243,294
Coorg, 62
Cori, 351
Cosmos Indico Pleustes, 428 (n)
Covcell, scholar, 384 (n)
Cuddappah, 43 (n), 333
Cura, 551
Cunningham, scholar, 45 (n), 135
Cutus, the, 48, 196, 198, 199

D

Daḍiga, 17
Uahana Kōlāla, 19
Dakkes, (Vaidyas), the, 370
Dakbina-Kailāsa, 398, 399
Dambi, Dombi, Domba, princt , 349, 352
Dammaraguḍḍe, 134, 136
Dānamūla, 364, 36S
Dantfatlrtha, 420
Daśaratha, 27
Dattājpendra Śrimara, king, 93, 172, 173, 176, 226, 388-401
DattàVas, the 62
Dattātreya, 10
Dāvaṇagere tāluka, 69, 71, 436 (n)
Dēgōna Rāṇa. 164
Dēmaṇa, 338
Dērama Setti, 410 (n)

Deri-, see Aduru Dere Baidva
Desiyagana, 243 (n)
Devaloka, 537
Devanageri Ballaja, 578, 579
Devacandra, author, 376
Devagiri, 422, 430, 434, 415, 436 (n), 438
Deva la Kanda, 107
Devaligenāḍ, 362
Devannanua *alias* Koinm, 153, 154
Deva Pandya, citizen, 348
Deva Puna, 459
Deva Rāja Oḍeyar, 346 (n)
Devarasa, Prince, 419 (n)
Deva rata Kausikagotra, 70
Deva Raya, (Saluva) king, 365
Deva Rāva II. king, 180. 181, 337, 353
Devadittiyer, 168, 187
Deveya, 111 [n)
Devikā, the, 45
Devikapuram, 39 = , 396, 396 (n), 397 (n)
Devu, 87, 159
Dèyi Baidyedi, 468-470. 474. 488. 491, 493, 495, 496, 500, 501, 516, 524, 547, 553, 556. 557, 558. 565, 566, 570, 576, 577. 582
Dhahalamano'ala, Nint lakh country, 391, 392, 396
Dhanavantarikbetra, 425
Dharani Śetti, 338
Dharmabhuvana 1-hattaraka, 415 (n)
Dharmakaranika, 207
Dharma, king, 482, 483, 484. 537. **561, 562**
Dharmanāyga, 178
Dharma Siva or Sarnbhu, a Saiva guru, 394, 399
Dharmabthala, 371, 373, 373 (n)
Dharwar district, 77
Dhaumya, 12
Dhenukā, the, 42 (n)
Dhruva Nirūpama I, king, 219, 220
Dhruvcśvaia Paṇḍita, 400 (n)
Dhvajesvara, see Kofesvara
Dikshit, K. N., scholar, 100 (n)
Dikshitar, Raraachandra, V. R., scholar, 48 (n)
Dilāvar khān, 154 (n)
Divākaraśarma, 70, 185
Dorasamudra, 234, 238, 269, 272, 294
Doravak, 203 (n)
Doyyorgulu, Attāvaiu, bhiitas, 464, 537, 546, 562
Drāvida (DiaViḷa), 246, 263
Drāviladesa Perivanda Hebbāruvu, 334
Dubreuil, Scholar, 210 (n)
Dugamāra, Kreyapa, king,253 (n)
Dugganṇa Kāvēr, 478, 507
Durjayanta, 43
Durgaruja, 419
Durvāsas, sage. 389, 390, 391 (n), 392, 196 400
Durvinita Korgunnrddha, king, **15, 202 (n)**

E

Eca Gauda, 281
Eo'ambūru, principality, 462,479, 488, 504, 512, 514, 519, 523, 528, 532, 533, 563, 578
Kdevolal (visava). 64~66, 70 72, **210**
Egypt, 54
Ejanagara (Vijayanagara), 482, 483, 484

Ekkaḍka Erryanga4a, 514
Ekkār, 320 (n), 478, 507, 541
Ekkaraparāra, 507
Ejenāyar, 299 (n)
Elliot, scholar, 55
Ellūr Abbe, 498, 557 (n), 572
Eñjala Devī, queen, 228, 232
Eppuli Nāyakar, 398
Erega, king, 253 (n)
Erajha, 475, 491, 498, 529, 574
Ere yam mar a ka, chieftain, 221 (n)
Ereyanga, king, 269 (n)
Ercyappa Niṯimaṙga I I , king, 16 . 331
Errnā), 6, 353 (n)
Ernācju (Bainā̤du), 302
Erumainā̤du, 48, 51

F

Fakanūr (Bārakuru), 226
Fātima, 461, 481, 482, 485, 531
Flett, J. F., scholar, 37, 38, 38 ( n ), 56 (n), 59, 201, 209 (n), 327 (n), 435 (n), 436 (n), 437

G

Gabhasti, the, 42 (n)
Gagana Śiva Acārya, a Śaiva guru,, 93, 388-391, 400, 401
Gajapati, king, 421
Gajapuri, 299
Gajāraṇya Ksetra, see Koppāla maṭha
Gaṇapati, king, 394, 399 (n)
Ganda (Gauda ?), 575
Gandhamāḍana mount, 427
Ganga ma ṇṭ a la, 211
Gangāmūla, 47 (n)
Ganga Pallavas, the 64 (n)
Ganga Perūr, 333
Gangarabi Pandita, 400 (n)
Gangas, the, 59, 68, 71, 202, 222, 230 (n), 246 (n), 253, 332
Gangavāḍi Six Thousand, 204, 253 (n), 254, 270
Gangavadi, Gangolli, Gurget, the, see ^uktimatl the
Ganges (Bhagirathi), the, 50, 190, 194, 335,391,422, 566
Gangeya Daṇṇāyaka, General, 286 (n)
Gañ ǰam, 426
Garuda, 449 (n), 483, 541
Gautfa, 220, 394
Gauda, Gauja, Agrahara, 117, 332
GautamI Balaśrī, queen, 199
Genḍa, 481
Gerasoppe, 365
Gerini, scholar, 335
Ghats (the Western), the 14, 62, 65, 66,68, 77,102,104, 116, 197, 207, 225, 237, 252, 277, 282, 285 (n), 286, 292, 363, 448, 483, 514, 517, 524, 530, 536, 537, 559, 561, 571, 574
Ghayasu-d Din Balban, Sultan, 438 (n)
Ghorāśtra, 16, 17 (n), 40 (n)
Glrnār, 47
Goa (Gopakapattaṇa)(Govapura) 37, 38 (n), 260, 294 (n), 423, 424, 482
Gobbūru, 34

God—

Anja.ieya, see Hanumanta
Annadāni Mallikārjuna, 63
Arkeśvara, 455 (n)
Balarāma, 422
Bankeśvara, 149, 151, 404
Bhairava (Siva), 271
Billeśvara, 264

Brahmā, 132, 403, 537, 564, 565
Ganapati, 108, 126
GirīSa, 330
Govinda, 106 (n), 446
Hanumanta, 25, 102, 105, 132, 142
Hara, 329, 330
Hari, 442
Hayagrīva, 380 (n)
Hojaladeva, 156
Hṛsikeśa, 446
Indra, 37 (n), 124
Isvaia (Mahesvara), 330, 383, 386,403, 449, 537
Jimmappa, 536
Kāṅada (Kānana) Śankaranārāyana, 340
Kāntadeva, 425
Keśava, 383, 44b
Kilgaṇeśvara, 72-75, 168, 188
Konata (?), 340
Kṛsṇa, Vāsudova, Gopāla, 80(11), 339, 422, 435, 439, 441 (n), 442, 454, 456
Lokeśvara, 94, 95 (n), 96 (n), 173, 227, 382, 383, 401
Mādhava, 446
Madhukeśvara, 67
Mahādeva, 237, 239, 340
Mahālingeśvara, 536
Mahesvara, 132, 518
Mañjunātha, 146, 283
Mārkaṛujeśvara, 107, 109, 234, 236, 336, 402
Nakhareivara, 108, 108 (n), 131, 402,403
Nārāyana, 443, 446, 537
Nrsimha, 312, 444,445, 453, 455
Padmodbhava (Brahmā), 331
Pañcalingeśvara, 355 (n)
Pandyesvara, 248
ParameśVara, 297
Parsvanatha, 121, 144, 151, 240, 243, 413,414,415
Paśupata, 67, 386
Phanikankana, see Siva
Prajāpati, see Indra
Purari (Siva) 329
Rāma, hero of the epic, T57, 421, 426, 438, 439, 473
Rudra, 328
Samarahara, 330
Sambhu, 382 (n), 386
Sambhukallu (Cambukallu), 63, 67, 81
Saṇmukha, 34
Sagtavesvara, 3.'7
Sesa, 60
Sldalinga, 536
Simhesa, 311
Siva, 32, 33, 34, 42, 42 (n), 63, 317,325, 329, 369, 370, 382
Skanda Kārtikeya, 370
Somanātha, 135, 169, 170, 288, 338, 403, 408
Śridhara, 446
Subrahmanya, Subnlya, 91, 209, 370, 387, 449 (n), 536, 537
Sudarsana, 443
Timireśvara, 174, 175 (n)
Tistava, 300 (n)
Trivikrama, 446
Varuna, 34
Vāyu, 417
Virūpāksa, 340
Visnu, 46, 132, 250, 403, 444-447, 449, 541
Goddess
Adi, see also Durgā, 381
Bhagavatī, 130, 180, 317, 379, 380, 380 (n)
Bhārati, see Kāśyapi

Camundesvari, 379 (n)
Durga (Paramesvari) 120, 121, 147, 148, 155, 157, 379, 379 (n), 380, 381, 402
Gaurl, 330, 381, 413
Guṇdadabbe, 30
Ho|ala Bhattaraki, 155, 156, 157, 381
Kali, 300, 559
Kasyapi, 315, 317
Laksmī, 529
Manga|a, Adi, Mava Devi, 378, 378 (n)
Manjusri, 380 (n)
Man Amma, Amnunasaui, 369, 379
Mukambika, 380 (n)
Padmavati, 224, 234, 235, 236, 240, 243
Parames'varl, 540
ParvatI, 297, 325, 369
Prasakti, 391
Śāradā, 164, 451
Śasana Devi, 328
Sitii, 383, 421, 426, 438, 439
Tar.l Bhagavati, 157, 378, 378 (n), 379, 380 (n). 381
Yaksini, see Durga,
Godavari, the 13, 46, 421
Godhanagin, 45
Gokama, 21, 26, (n), 39, 43, 245, 299, 324 (n), 350, 447
Golaki, Golagi, Golajjn i, 392
Goldstuckcr, scholar, 430 (n)
Golla, 580, 581
Gollarama Deyat, 483, 574
Gomanta, 44
Gooty taluka, 71
Gopisvararava. a chieftain, 138, 139, 283
Gtmhta. Govarastra, 28. 300, 447
Gotamiputra Śatakarni, king, 198
Govardhana, 13
Govinda IV, king, 393
Govindacarya Svāmi, scholar, 452 (n)
Govinda Kāranta, 338
Govinda Pai, scholar, 59 (n), 64 (n), 95 (n), 96 (n), 355 (n), *375* (n)
Govindahvami, a Smartha 'curu, 457
(Jraul, scholar, 373 (n)
Gudda Nāyaka, 320
Guḍdasane, 320
Gudur Taluka, 207, 211
Gujarat, 324 (n), 412 (n)
Gujjara (King of), 222
Gujjarakt'du (tank), 518
Crummata (Gomatu), 110, ,243, 243 (n), 468, 489, 490, 494
Gulf of Manar, 214
Gunasagara Alu-aras>ar, king, !0, 73-77, 79 (n). 82, 189,358
Gunda, 17
Guṇḍāl, 7
Gunḍibailu, 105
Guntur dibtrict, 399 (n)
Gupta (lamily) 185
Gurgunjemula, See Gangfrmula
Gurjara, 263
Guru Rao, 432 (n)
Guru Saiapoji, 483, 574
Guttuberke. 467

H

Haceveuu, 152
Haduhalh (Hadalli, Sangitapura) 213
Haihayu, tribes*, 10
Haiva, Haiga, Hayva, Hayve, Payve 500, 27, 28, 30, 30 *(a),* 31, 34, 37, 61, 254, 294, 326, 350

Haladi Hole, the, 45
Haḷe}amma, 113, 116, 117
Hali, 351
Halli queen, 349
Hfllmidi (Palmiḍi), 58, 68, 81, 250, 251, 251 (n), 252, 385
Hanagvadi, 286
Haṇḍana Visṇu karanta, 338
Handa Krna Karanta, 338
Hande*, the, 336, 338
HandioUbail, 496
Hangarakatta, 42, 451
Hanumān, 427
Hanumanta Rao, scholar, 431 (n)
Hanuvaradvīpa, 17, n.
Hārade Dcva, 107
Haresapura 71, 210
Hariapa Dannayaka, 181, 182,284
Hanharapura, (town), 69', 71, 73, 453, 454, 454 (n)
Harihara, I, king, 140, 290, 293(n)
Harihara Rāya II, king, 31, 35, 259, 290, 294, 309, 337, 339, 340, 146. 346 (n), 453
Harihar Trivedi, scholat 335 (n)
Hariparvata, 45
Haruvijgoppa Vainana Hebbarava, 452
Hassan. 20, 250
Hastiniivatī, 423,
Hattiangadi, 406,
Hattikuduru, 17 n.
Hāvēn, 204 *(n)*
Hegde, Sirnivasa. author, 17 (n), 305 (n), 355 (n)
Heggade, prince, 349, 351
Hemacandra Bhattāraka, 415 (n)
Hemāngada, king, 297 341, 351
Heras, Henry, scholar, 209 (n)
Hesaraphatta, 391 (n)
Hinduism, 407, 408
Hindus, the, 382 (n), 408, 409, 428 (n), 537, 545, 546
Hinkiri Būnār, 529
Hiranyagarbha Vikram.i Śantaia, king, 228
Hiranyākṣa, 46
HiranyaVarmā, king, 209 (n>
Hirekalyāṃ, 456
Hinya Dannāyaka, 112, 113 (n), 116, 118
Hirivangaḍi, 240, 242, 244
Hittalu, 220
Hoʊcala (Hovsala) Devi, queen, 228
Holavanahaḷli, 111 (n)
Hole-Naratīpura tāluka, 362
Holeyas, the, 5, 6, 7, 370, 371, T.'2 (n), 460, 461, 463 490, 549
Hōḷi, 351
Hojlas, the, 336
Holli Gavunda 399 (n)
Honnāli taluka, 286
Honnavura, Bee Honuv aradvipa, 17 n.
Honneya Nāyaka, 292
Hos, the 8, n.
Hosaholalu, 172, 205
Hosakote taluka, 19
Hosagunda, 101 (n), 112, H3, 113 (n), 116, 118, 119, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 282, 285, 453
HosaVadaha, 182, 284
Hotavūru, 400 (n)
Hoytalat, the 64, 206, 232, 238, 238, 247.' 268, 2 9, 270, 276, 279 (n), 282,285, 288 (n), 411
Hṛṣlkeśatīrtha, a Vaisṇava guru, 433

Hubaśika, Hubbadiga, Habāśiga, Hebasi, a chieftain, 5, 327 (n), 350,350 (n),351 (n)
Hunnūr river, the, 362
Hunsur tāluka, 63
Hultzsch, Dr. scholar, 58, 59, 62 (n), 65, 67, 90 (n), 93, 390 (n)

I

Itfekedu, Idake, 302, 308
Idu Savanti, chieftain, 264, 265
Ijjya, 514, 530
Ikkeri, 456
Iksu, the, 42 (n)
India, 17, 53, 198, 323, 404
India Central, 391
India, Noithern, 1%, 408, 418, 439
India Office, 430 (n)
India, Southern, 39, 439
India, Western, 36, 39
Indrakila, 42, 42 (n)
Indrani (Indrali or Indralli), 21, 43, 379, 379 (n)
Indrapura, a teacher (?), 423
Inu-Kulottunga Coin, king, 216 (n)
Irala Kurave, 475
Iravadūru, 484, 485
Iravattūru, 353 (n)
Iritfige, 37
Iruvailu, 145, 259
Iśanaśarmā, a Śaiva teacher, 71
Isanasiva, a Saiva teacher, 390
Isanasiva Acarya, a Saiva teacher, 395, 396, 397 (n), 398, 400
liana Siva Rāvula, a Śaiva teacher, 395, 396, 397
f&ana Siva Yogindra, a Saiva teacher, 395, 396
Isara Kambji, 530, 559
Isupattaksetra, 423
ISvara, citizen, 107
Iśvara Deva, chieftain, 265 (n)
Iśvarāmśa, 19

j

Jagadalāla Gangeya Sāhani, General, 285
Jagadekamalla I I , king, 204 (n), 235, 262 (n)
Jagadevarasa, a Śantara king, 114 (n)
Jugadevarasa, Vīra, Alupa king, 99, 112-119, 123, 262, 264
Jainas, the 6, 216 (n), 217 (n), 298, 344 (n) 353 (n), 382 (n), 406-410, 414, 462, 465, 467, 537
Jainism, 273, 344, 382 (n), 384 402, 403, 404, 406, 407, 408, 410, 411,412,413, 414, 415
Jaitugi, Yādava king, 437
Jakka Gauda, 281
Jakkala, Devi princess, 232 (n)
Jakala Mahādevī, queen, 122
Jakkanācārya, 364 (n)
Jamadagni, Hsi, 10, 1.', 15, 20, 31,32
Jamalābād, 278, 279, 279 (n)
Jambitige, 453, 454
Janārdhana Sālagrāma, 448
Janārdhanatlrtha, a Vaisnava guru, 433
Jārantāya, a bhūta, 517
Jatanayya, 281
Jatāvarman Tribhuvanacakravartin Vira Pārujya Deva, king, 397, 398
Jayakeiin, I, king of Konkan, 122, 205,260, 261, 272 (n)
Jayakesi, Santara king, 34, 35
Jayasinga, a Western Calukya king,157

Jayanta, mount, 45
Jayanta, chieftain, 382
Jayanti-dvlpa, 56 (n)
Jayantika Kadamba Rāya, king, 342
Jayantipura (Jayantikā), 56 (n)
Jaya Pāṇḍya, chieftain, 347, 348
Jayasirhha, king 201 (n)
Jayasimhabhūpa, prince, 419, 424
Jayasingādu, 270
Jayaswal, K. P., scholar, 327 (n)
Jinadatta Rāya, king, 224, 225, 225 (n), 243, 266, 406 (n), 407, 409, 410
Jinasenācārya, 217 (n)
Jinendra, king, 344 (n)
Jjhunkunjanā Deva, 120
Jñānāmr^ācārya, 398
Jñāna Śaivācāryas, 396 (n)
Jñāna Sivācārya, 399 (n)
Joshi, scholar, 376 (n)
Jōti Brahman cirl, See, Dēyi Baidyedi
Jubbalpore, 392
Judda (Yuddha) Malla, 86
Jumnā, the, 371 (n), 407
Jwala Sahay Mishra, scholar, 325 (n)

K

Kabenātfu, 424
Kaccha (Cochin ?), 44
Kacchara-vamśa, 207
Kaccūru Mālḍi, Bāle, 517, 535, 538
Kadaba, 223 (n)
KadalSetti, 178
Kaciamana Setti, 574
Kadamba, king, 297, 350
Kadambakānana, 299
Kadamba-kula, 328, 329
Kadambalaligenāḍ, Thousand, 230, 286
Kadambamaṇḍala, 66, 67, 73, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79 (n), 83, 250
Kadambas, the, 66, 76, 77, 78, 79 (n), 249, 252, 254, 254 (n), 260, 332, 333, 488
Kadamba Satyiiśraya Deva, king, 204
Kadari (Kau'kari-ViUhala), 304
Kadiyali, 379 (n)
Kadri (Kadirikā, Kadare), 22, 43 (n), 94, 131, 133, 173, 219, 227, 228, 304, 316, 377, 378, 379 (n), 382, 383, 384, 401,489
Kadu-Kukke, 370
Kadurabelambettu, 388
Kadur district, 20
Kādu Vāmana, 132
Kāduvetti, king, 230
Kāgu, a dog, 514
Kailāsa, 505, 538, 565
Kaipuo'es, the, 490
Kaivalyāśrama Svāmi, a Smārtha guru, 451
Kājuva Mainduvājda, 110
Kākarasa, 220
Kākatlyas, the, 262
Kajbappu, 51
Kafabhras, the, 70, 77
Kalacari, Kajacuriya, 18, 19, 201, 329, 394
Kalacuriyas, the 201 (n), 262, 330, 392
Kālala Deva, 362
Kalhana, 36
Kājarasa, chieftain, 267, 267 (n)
Kalasa, 62 (n)
Kalasappa, 481
KSlavara, 181,370
Kaleyabbarasi, queen, 229

Kāhdāsa, poet, 13, 27, 28, 38, 39, 382 (n)
Kalinga, 263, 434
Kalise, 366
Kalkuda, a bhuta, 371, 487, 500, 523
Kalladakurucci, 397
Kallise, 263, 267
Kalluraya, 305
Kallyāṇapura, 428, 428 (n), 429
Kālōrgana, 414
Kiilsi, 47
Kaltide, 86, 185, 238
Kāju, a dog, 514
Kaju-Nayaka, 578. 579, 581I
Kalvāna, 112
Kāma Deva, chieftain, 228, 259
Kamadevarasa. Alupa king, 145. 259
Kama Deva. Kava Deva, General 206, 255
Kāmakōḍa, 87, 386
Kambalasāna, 7
Kampaṇa, prince 140
Kanaḍa Kattire, 475
Kanakasabhai, scholar, 49 (n)
Kanakavarma, prince, 297, 298
Kāṇanūr, 204
Kanapāḍitaya, i bhūta, 536
Kiinapathi jogis, 22. 458
Kanara High School, 148, 150. 151, 175 (n), 191, 404
Kanara, North, 1, 21, 37, 18 in), 49 (n), 258, 260, 261
Kanara (Canara) South, 1, 9, 38 (n), 49 (n), 65, 203. 223 (n), 235, 355, 367 (n), 416 (n), 419, 429 (n), 453 (n), 464
Kañci (pura), 44, 77, 78, 79 (n). 208 (n), 245,260, 384
Kanci Kadanga, 483, 561
Karlcinadka, 530
Kañcuna, 351
Kaṇda Bollarasvâmi, 530, 559
Kanda Buleri, 514
Kandāvara, 350
Kandukācārya, 236
Kāngōdu (Kāñjinōdu), 304
Kanheri. 198
Kankayya, 233 (n)
Kankem (mod. Kanki), 389. 390
Kiinker. 45 (n)
Kannaci, 176
Kannada countr\, 61
Kannanuru, 362. 363
Kannara Deva, King, 36
Kannarapadi, 21, 379
Kanrjottu, the, 2 (n)
Kantana Mara Aluva alias Kornna, 152
Kāntanna. 560, 57.'
Kantavara. 183, 104, 425
Kantu Pombada, 542
Kāntu Śetti. 574
Kamatirtha, 425, 425 (n) 441 (n)
Kanva, a man, 517
Kanyākumàn, 26, 26 (n), 34, 420
Kaṃāna. 283, 289. 291, 309
Kaorhari, the, 41 (n)
Kāpu, Kāpi, 134. 136, 137, 522
Karah.lta. 27, 326. 389, 390, 199, 400
Kārandūru (Kārandāru), 301
Karafja-kheṭa, 390, 390 (n)
Karañjapatra, 71, 84. 210
Kārarje, 44 (n)
Kārantas, the 336, 337
Kara si Nayga (Nāyaka), 177
Karenke, bee Ballāḷa of Kukvāli
Kārevūru (Tārevūru), 301
Kariviḍi Hirūr, 270

Kanyangaja, 83, 84, 85, 131, 133. 15f, 156
Kārkala, Kārekala, 62 (n), 147 (n), 240, 242, 244, 256, 304, 388, 390, 404, 406, 408 (n), 409, 410, 413, 415 (n), 468, 489, 490, 521, 567
Kārkaḷa tāluka, 101, 106, 110-111, 119, 121, 129, 134,138, 145, 152, 153,183, 242,247, 259,282,290. 293, 294 (n), 380
Karkoṭa dynasty, 36
Karlutti, heroine, 371. 500, 520
Karmisāle, 514, 559
Kārnāḍu, 7
Karnāṭaka, Karnata, the, 18, 18 (n), 19, 23, 24, 27-29, 31,34. 35, 39, 47, 51, 54, 58, 59, 62, 64, 77, 123, 145, 160, 162, 166, 167, 170, 171, 185, 187, 188, 203, 204 (n), 211, 218, 220, 235, 239, 245, 248, 261, 263, 268, 270, 346, 349,361,363, 363 (n), 371 (n), 401, 402, 405, 452 (n), 453, 457, 461
Kappettu-grāma, 299 (n)
Kārtavlrya, king, 10. 13 n., 14, 18, 20,'27
Kāra, 45,
Kārwar, 198, 199, 416 (n)
Kāsaragōḍu, 5, 42, 203, 304, 419
Kāśmlra, 36, 164, 384 (n)
Kaśyapa, 10, 11, 23
Katāra, 267
Rati, 351
Kattingere, 370
Kauḍamhāḍttaya, 308
Kaut.alya, 161 (n), 318, 319. 335 (n)
Kavaca Dāsa, 375
Kāva Deva, Kadamba Rudra. king, 258, 258 (n), 285, 330
Kavai, 2, n.
Kavi Vimalāditva, king, 155
Kāvu, 5
Kāvūru (Kālūru), 484. 485, 499
Kāyiii, 481
Kayya-Vamśa, 85
Keladi State, J65
Kelavinadu, see Kolavinadu
Kellata Māmāḍ, 500, 520
Kemėr Ballāḷa, See Ballāla of Pañja
Kemiñje (Keminja), 302
Kemmule, 462, 503, 516, *533*, 541 557
Kendu Deva, 487
Kerala, 2, 1, 4, 9, 13, 22, 24 (n), 27, 29, 29 (n), 104, 205, 215, 326, 356, 371, 394, 419, 420
Keralas, the, 41, 71, 77, 78
Kervāśe, 412, 414, 415
Kervāśe, 242, 243
Keśavadeva, General, 258
Keśava Kāranta, 338
Keśava Nāyaka, 337
Keśimayya, Keśirāja, General, 30 (n), 262, 262 (n)
Khandavayana Brahman*b*, the, 11
Khaṇḍeya agrahāra, 361
Khatrib, the, 22
Khiri (Bhiri), 351
Kidiyūru, 379 (n)
Kigga (taluka), 65, 69, 72, 73, 74, 75, 78 (n), 168
Kiḷai Kuḍalūr, 398
Kiliñje, 105
Killa, 72
Kilpācji, 419 (n)
Kmni Dām, 479, 573
Kirāta, 42 (n)
Kirimaf jésvara, 370
Kīrti BhaUāraka, 414

Kirti Deva, 31
Kfrti Sambhu, 394, 396
Kirtivarmā I, king, 60, 66, 68, 69, 76, 78, 82, 90 (n), 200, 201
Kîrtivarmā I I , king, 203, 208 (n)
Kiru-kāgamāsi, 71, 72
Kittel, scholar, 132 (n)
Kōcājva Ballāja, 534
Kocci Kintādhipati, Koccinātha, 306
Kocjadabbu, hero, 371, 511, 517, 522, 530, 535, 538, 573
Kodakala Nayaka, 137
Kodamantaya, a bhuta, 478
Kocjambajur, (Kodambai), 244, 245, 246, 247
Kodanad, 267 (n)
Kotfafijāḍi Gaṇtaviila, 425
Kotfaṅge Bannāre, 522, 530, 531, 573
Koḍapādi, principality, 514
Koo'aśādri, see Kutaśaila
Kodavuru, 377
Kodila (Kudalu, Kudila), 301
Kodipaoli, 302, 377
Kodlipadi (Kaudipadi), 424
Kodittillaya (Kodittilla), 336
Kodiyāj, see Mangalore, 378
Kogali 500, 230
Kokkada, (Kokkodu), 301, 523, 574
Kokkarane, 377 (n)
Kokkarunandadakkan. chief, 245
Kokba, 38, 38 (n)
Kolala Bhargava, 19
KoJaUnagara, (mod. Kolalagiri), 79, 80 (n), 177
Kolapadi, 504
Kolar, 20
Kolavinacju (Kolanādu), 301, 304
Kalian (not the same as Kallyā-napura), 428 (n)
Kolakadu guttu, 509
Kolkars, the 514
KoiLiiiganahaUa agrahāra, 334
Kolli Pallava, Nolamba, 220, 223, 223 (n)
Kolliyarasa, chieftain, 223
Kolluru, 21, 380 (n), 489, 520
Kolnadu guttu, 509
Komara (Kumāra), a chief, 167
Komna, prince, 152, 153,349,352
Kondapadmati Buddharāja, 18
Kondaura, 340
Kongudesa, Kongunādu, Kongal-nad, 53, 54 (n), 61, 78, 212
Kongalvas, the 62, 62 (n)
Konkana kirgdom (rastra), 27, 31, 32, 33, 198, 205, 211, 231, 245, 254, 260, 261, 269 (n), 294, 303, 326
Konkana 14,000, 38
Konkana 900, 34, 37, 38 (n)
Konkanas, the, see also Sapta Konkanaa, 35, 61 (n), 207
Koppa taluka, 62, 69, 72, 258, 453
Kora, 351
Koraga, village, 242, 243, 415
Koragars, the, 5, 52, 53, 350 (n), 361 (n), 369, 460, 461, 464, 490, 501, 506, 549, 555
Konka, 405
Kosars, the, 49, 49 (n), 50, 51, 53
Kosmos Indikopleustes, 55
Kota, 83, 86, 119, 120, 124,125, 126, 139, 140, 179, 303, 305, 307, 310, 314, 315, 316, 336, 338, 350, 360, 402, 440, 454
K5|adavaru. people, 454
Kolāla, 19, 253 (n)
Kotasadri PSI, 347

Kōṭe Baler, 517
Kōtegeri Subrāya Jyośa, 355 (n)
Kōtekēri, 109, 110, 114, 163, 233, 235, 236, 237, 238, 242 336, 359
Kotesvara, 3, 21, 89, 91, 125, 127, 440, 538
Kōti, hero, 154 (n), 3'.2 (n), 459, 462, 463, 464, 467, 468, 471, 473, 474, 478, 479, 483, 485, 488, 494, 4%, 498, 499, 501-510, 513, 515, 517, 519, 521, 522, 525, 526, 528, 529, 531-535, 537, 538,556, 558-560, 562-564, 566-570, 572-574, 576, 578, 581
Kōti Nāyaka, chieftain, 285
Koti Setti *alias* Binnani, chieftain, 294 (n)
Kotisvata, 310, 314
Koṭīśvaras, the, 315, 316, 317, 318, 444, 445, 449
Kōtiyapa Śetti, 338
Kotyamale (Kodyamale), 44 (n)
Kōtyanṇa Alva, 153
Koyakūra Vāsudeva, Mayya, 337
Krishna, Dr. scholar, 113, 113(n), 114, 115, 116, 250, 264, 265 (n), 266 (n), 327
Krōdamaṛujala, see Śankaranārāyaṇa
Krodesa (in Śankaranarayana), 447
Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa, 430 (n)
Kṛsna Deva Rāya the Great, king, 366
Kṛsna I Kannara Akālavarsa, king, 220
Kṛṣṇa III Akālavarsa Vallabha, king, 390
Kṛṣṇa, Kalacuriya, king, 392
Kṛṣṇa Kāranta, 338
Kṛṣṇa Mayya, 337
Krishna Rao, scholar, 202 (n)
Krsnamurti Śarma, scholar, 431 (n)
Krsna Sastri, scholar, 217, 430, 431, 431 (n), 435 (n)
Kṛṣṇānanda Svāmi, a Smārtha guru, 454, 455, 455 (n), 456, 457 (n)
Kṛṣṇa Rāja Oḍeyar, king, 457 (n)
Krsnaveni, the, 392
Krsnayya Mayya, 337
Kpnavarmaṁ, king, 251
Kṛtasmāra, 44
Kiṭavīrya, king, 32
Ksatri, 409
Ksatriyas, the, 13, 17, 18, 19, 22,23
Ksira Svāmi, a Smārtha guru, 454, 45 .'
Kubcra guttu, 509
Kūcjali, 46
Kudaśādri, see Kūtaśaila
Kudikūra, 127, 128, 163, 181
Kudli, 452 (n)
Kudremukh (Kotekān), the, 44(n)
Kudupu, 134, 138,370
Kudyapustūraya, village, 419, 420 (n), 452 (n)
Kukke, village. 105, 294 (n)
Kulacchān, 217
Kulamudda, 221, 221 (n)
Kulaśekhara Alupendra III, king, 143-147, 150, 175, 242, 403, 414
Kulaśekhara (māva) Alupendra IV, king, 147-152,191, 194,360, 361, 381, 404
Kulottunga Cola Deva, king, 54
Kumar Bammarasa, chieftain, 264, 265, 266
Kumāra Birarasa, chieftain, 101 (n), 257, 264-266
Kumārādri, fee Subrahamaṇya,

Kumāra Erega, 176
Kumāramangala, 419, 419 (n)
Kumāra Rāya, a Jaina prince, 412
Kumaravrttiyakusu, 292
Kumārayya Māramma Hegde, 153 (n)
Kumāri (Kumāradhārī) the, 41, 41 (n),42, 42 (n), 47,425
Kumāri, See Kanyākumārl
Kumhaja, Kambah, prince, 349, 351
Kumhhakaṣi, see Koṭa, 21, 406 (n)
Kumhhaf-epura (Kumhhfisi) Kuimi, 406 (n)
Kumbla, 419, 424
Kumberlu,bhūtas, 371 (n)
Kumudacandra BhaUāraka Deva, Jaina guru, 240-241, 415 (n)
Kunbis, Kurumbars, Kudumbis, the. 460-462, 527
Kunda, prince, 349
Kunda, a Sudra, 310
Kundakfi Devi, queen, 393
Kundana, 124 (n)
Kundanad, 267 (n)
Kundapura taluka, 89, 91, 101, 102, 108, 119, 125, 130, T.'4, 181, 283, 289, 290, 305, 309, 370, 380 (n), 406, 440, 451, 508, 538
Kundapura, town, 44, 56 (n), 128, 163, 181, 451 (n)
Kundavarmarasa I, king, 73- 5, 79, 80, 82, 202, 358
Kundavarmarasa If, king, 93, % (n), 160, 173, 174, 211, 210, 227, 383, 390, 401
Kunxiodara, a spirit, 348, 349
Kunjamrtaya, 308
Kunjaradari, 44
KuFjaragiri, 21, 21 (n), 40, 43
Kufijaru, 21, 379, 379 (n)
Kunni Gauda, 107
Kun Pandya, Kubja Pandya Kundamara, Dirghamara, Sundara Pandya, king, 216 (n)' 217 (n)
Kuntala, 51, 333
Kunyamārga (Kunnimārga, Kunjamarga), 301
Kupaka, 29
Kuppugadde, 256, 258
Kurnool district, 395 (n), 399
Kuruksetra, 190, 423
Kusasthalī, 325 (n)
Kuta, see Koṭa, 310
Kutaka (Kuṭā, Kute), 45, 302. 405, -106
Kutasaila, 43, 44, 44 (n), 4^
Kuvalaapurj, 233 (n)

L

Lacana (Laksmaṇa), hero, 47?
LokkoṇḍanawaḤi, 19
Laksmapa, Māramma Hegdt , 353 (n)
Laksmi Devi, queen, 228
Laksmī, goddefcb, 16
Laksmi Bommakkā, 295 (n)
Lalitaditya Muktapida, king, 36
Lahtakirti Bhattaraka, Jaina guru, 243 (n)
Lankā, Lankiipuri, 25, 29, 39
Lāta, 38
La vie, writer, 545 (n)
Lingarasa, 309
Lingayata mar,hu, 340
Lokāditya, a hero, 327 (n), ?50, 350 (n)
Lokāditya Mayūravarmā, same as Viravarmā, 298-300, 306, 321, 324, 324 (n), 325, 325 (n). 326, 327, 327 (n), 341-343,40.'
Lower Kañci, 483
Ltfders?, Dr., scholar, 52

M
Mackenzie, Colin, Col , Surveyor, General, 430 (n)
Mādadaha, 182, 284
Madāmma, 118
Maddagin tāluka, 111 (n)
Maddur, 5
Mādhavacandra, 122, 413,
Mādhava Mavya, 337
Mādhava Rāva, Governor, 294 (n)
Miidhavamantn, 455 (n)
Madhavasarasvati Svami, a Smārtha guru, 454 (n)
Madhmyanal, 326 (n)
Madhura (northern), 224, 234, 235, 236, 240, 241, 243, 404
Madhvācārya, Maheksa, Vāsudeva, Purnaprajña, Anandatfrtha, reformer, 345-41'' (n), 419, 419 (n), 420, 420 (n)-423 (n)-428 (n)-429 (n)-430 (n) -431 (n)-432 (n)-433 (n)-438 (n)-439 (n)-441 (n)-450, 452(n)
Madhvatīrtha, a Vaisnava guru, 430
Madhyagthabhattd, 416-418
Madhvatāle, 423
Madi (Jauaa, 285
Madura district, 399 (n)
Madura (Madhura). southern, 64, 125, 216 (n), 356,
Madyavadinād, 364,
Māgandādisiina, 7
Magebailu (Mogebailu), 301
Mahābalesvara, 447
Mahādeva (or Isvara), king, 422, 430, 434-438
Mahādeva, Thera, 51 (n)
MahāDevI, queen of Guna&āgara, 13, 75
Mahā Devi, Hoysala queen, 219
Mahākīrti Deva Rāvula, 415 (n)
Mahakūta 60, 60 (n), 66, 200
Mahāmandaleśvara
Camunda Rava, 30, 205
Ketarasa, 267
Kōti Nāyaka, 453
Lokanatha Devarasa, 144, 240, 241, 242, 412 (n), 413
Sāltiratta, Rāya, 98, 167
Sevvagellara, 110-112
Mahānadī, the, 41, 15 (n)
Mahāpradhāna
Arasu Heggade, 107
Baiceva Dannavaka, General 286, 289
Devapa Dannāyaka. 182, 284
Jakkarasa Odiyar, 309
Mallapa Odeyar, 294
Nāgarasa()<leya, 295, 339
Rupabhattayya, 383
Sōvanna Senabova, 166
Vayijapa Dannāvaka, 287
Mahārāstra, 263
Mahāsāmanta Avcarasa, 400 (n)
Mahāsiimanta Sangiya Nāvaka, 287
Mahayana 380 (n), 382 (n), 384
Mahisamandala. 48, 51, 51 (n)
Māhismati, 10
Maiduna Oddamadeva, 126, 127
Mai la r.s, the, 5
Mamda (Mama), 421 (n)
Mainda Heggade, 138
Majumdar, R. C , scholar 45 (n)
Malabar, 2, 26 (n), 38 (n), 299, 482
Maladhāndeva, a Jainaguru, 122, 413
Malakāpuram, 392-394 (n)
Matali (Mane|), 353 (n), 406 (n)

Malāpah, the, 42 (n)
Māhva, 394
Malavaḷḥ, 198
Malayaj̱ideśa 205, 273, 350
Male, 55, 207
Malenāḍ, 276
Malepa, 231, 232, 270
Maleya,211
Malik Kafūr, General, 363 (n)
Malisāle, 267
Malla, 579
Mallam, 207, 209, 210,211
Maḷḷana, 225
Mallapa Odeyar, 31
Mallaraba, Viceroy 259
Mallenadechava, 487
Malli, 351
Malli Deva, king, 255, 255 (n), 256
Malhkārjuru Bhatta, 34
Malpi (Malpe), 177, 421, 435
Māmūlūnār, 49 (n)
Maṇama Pandita, 343
Mandāra, 236
Mandara, village, 392, 394
Mandasale Biroja, 267
Maṇcluka, 178
Manga Kadamba, 304
Mangalā Devi, 55 (n)
Mangalesa Raṇavikrama, kinsr, 58, 60, 60 (n), 66, 68, 82, 200, 201,201 (n), .0. (n)
Mangajūru, Mangalore, Manpalāpura, 43 (n), 55, 55 (n), 61, 94,131-133,141, 143, 148-150, 173-1,5, 203 (n), 215, 217-219, 223, 226-228, 244, 248, 27 304,347 (n), 350 (n), 364, 3,6, 3 8, 38 ,404, 518
Mangal *n* tāḷula, V, 83, 84, 129, 13 , 35, 155,259, 300 (n), 320, **406** (n), 419 (n) **440**
Mangalore Uḷḷaya, Buddyanta, 522, 530, 531 '
Mangaya, Aditya Deva, kiag, 246
Mangāyi Akkā, queen, 216 (n), 21.' (n),
Margodu, 21
Manigārkcn, 134, 135, 169, 337, 33[c], 403, 414
Maninoja Rāṇa, 164
Manipura, 42
Manivi-.rmỳ, king, 297, 336, 341
Marjananda, 522
Marjana Komna Bhūpa, 154
Manjarūr (Mangalore), 226
Manjeśvara, 262, 350 (n), 3 ,0, 464
Maf jibldu, 518
Maf jitāya, Maf ja, 306, 307, 308
Mafjunoditāya, 308
MafjuPafja, 519,520
Mankabbarasi, princess, 228, 231
Mannapaikudi, 513
Mānner, scholar, 372 (n), 459 (n)
Manu, 382 (n)
Maṇugasattava, 178
Māpiḷḷas, the, 460-464, 482, 484, 485, 488, 53.', 546
Marakāla, 361, 362, 363
Māramma Aḷuva (Ajva)-ratar king, 79, 80, 80 (n), 81, 82, 90, 90 (n), 155, 177, 201, 250,252, 385
Maraṇe, 242, 243 (n). 301
Mārapa, king, 140
Mārasarmā, 71
Māratarva, chieft-iin, 222
Māraumha, king, 30
Marātha, 29
Marāthas, the, 217
Marapa*, Maha-ras(rakuṭ.as, **the** 215, 217,218,364

Mā̃ravarman *alias* Tnbhuvana Cakṛavartm Sundara Pandya, king̃, 395, 397, 398
Mā̃rkandeya, rsi, 297, 298, 336, 343
Marwar, 220
Masana, 258
Masanitamma, 362
Matangas, the, 201
Matha
Adhamā̃ru 429 (n), 430 (n), 433, 433 (n)
Amartaka, 391
Bā̃lekuduru, 451, 451 (n), 452, 453 (n), 457
Bhiksā̃, 395
Dvā̃rkii, 455, 456, 457
Golaki, 392, 394-400 (n)
Hihah (Gohki), 398
Kā̃ṇūru, 433, 433 (n)
Kā̃ru, 419
Koppā̃la, 454, 455 (n)
Krsna Galaki, 397
Kṛsṇā̃pura, 433, 433 (n)
Kū̃dh Śrmgeri, 451 (n)
Mujbā̃gal, 456, 457
Pĺjlvara, 433
Phalamā̃ru 432(n), 433, 433 (n)
Phalmā̃ru, 432(n), 433, 433 (n) at Udipi
Phalamā̃ru at Mū̃lki, 429 (n)
Pratā̃pa Hanharapura, 453, 454 (n)
Puttige, 433, 433 (n)
Rā̃ghavendrasvā̃mi, 423 (n)
Sirūru, 433, 433 (n)
Sode, 380 (n), 433,433 (n)
Sringeri, 140, 141 (n), 290-292
Talakā̃tf, 456, 457
Uttarā̃di, 423 (n)
Valkaleśvara, 390, 399-401
Matti, 325 (n), 475
Matti Bĩra Balaya, 509
Mattal Nalaja, 467
Mattu Marbala Setti, 574
Mā̃vahgrañva, 220
Mā̃vana, 351
Mā̃Vinakere, 427
Mā̃yadanga, 497
Mā̃yāguṇdi, 105, 451, 451 (n)
Mā̃yile, 221
Mayijanna, 338
Mȧyikal, see Mangalore, 378
Mayurkhandi, 223
Mayūravarma, (Śarmā̃), Kadamba, king, 249, 279, 296, 297, 327-332, 334
Mayyas, the, 336, 337, 338
Mecca, 483
Mcdumā̃nan, 224
Melai-Kodamalū̃r *alias* Uttama Pandya-nallū̃r, 248-249
Menasur, 364
Meru, queen, 404
Miraj, 389, 433 (n)
Mirjan, 2
Mittanā̃^u (Mittunā̃du), 301
Mittara, 351
Mlyā̃ra, 294 (n)
Mocala Mahā̃devi, queen, 132
Moda grā̃ma, 310
Mogatā̃le, 132
Mogerā̃ya, 305, 305 (n)
Mogernad, 518
Mogers, Mugerb, the, 5, 371, 460, 461, 464, 484, 501, 506, 514
Moraes, George, scholar, 60 (n), 254 (n), 258 (n), 260 (n)
Mount
Coila, 39,
Dilly, 24, 24 (n)
Himya (Himalaya), 330

Hindu Kus, 45 (n)
Mahendra, 12, 24, 25(n), 29, 43
Mandāra, 445
Kiskindhā, IS
Kotaśādn, 347
Kuñjara, 44
Malaya, 29
Paraśu, 24 (n)
Pānyātra, 29
Pyrrhub, 24 (n)
RksaVat, 29
Śuktimat (Śuktiman), 29. 41, 41 (n), 45 (n)
Vindhya (Vindhyas), 14, 29, 222
Mrgeśa, king, 250
Muccalagōḍu, 21
Mūdader (Kāḷahhairava), a bhūta, 522
Mūcjanttilla (Mūdanttillava), 336
Mudda, 310, 311
Muddapa, prince, 140
Mūḍgere tāluka, 427, 453
Mudiga, 267
Mūḍila ( Mūdela Nidambūru ) 295, 304, 336, 338-340, 346. 444 (n)
Mūḍiliā, familv, 417
Mūdubidre, Bidre, Bidire, 119, 120, 143-145, 147, 148, 151, 175, 181, 182, 264, 282-284. 404, 406-408, 410 (n), 412, 412 (n), 413, 414, 489
Mutfukeri, 93, 96, 167, 179, 212, 283, 288,337, 388
Mudya, Mudda, prince, 349, 352
Mugurunaōṭu, 148, 149
Muhammadant., the, 452 (n), 545
Muizzu-d Din Kaikobād, Sultan, 438 (n)
Mujuvaru, 107
Mukkanna Kadamba Mayūravarmā, king, 259 (n), 328, 331 (n), 333
Muktl, the, 304
Mūla Brahmans, 3(3, 352
Mulata country, 325
Mulbāgal, 453, 455, 456
Mūlgunda Twelve, 399(n), 400(n)
MQlivalb (Malenahaḷh), 251
Mūlki, 7, 17, n., 40, 300 (n), 320, 321 (n), 429 (n), 508, 541
Mullundrum, 396 (n)
Mūlūru, 497
Mullūru, 310
Munda, 7, 8 (n)
Mundḷpāditāya *alias* Kāḷahhairava, a bhūta, 537
Municandra Tratidya Bhatta - raka, 411
Munnūraṿa, 305
Munro, Sir Thomas, 300 (n)
MuraveByiiri, 461, 481, 482 485, 491, 531, 534
Mūsika, 29, 41
Mudtaksetra, 420
Muhuvana-katta, 281
Mutḷa..., 286
MuttaVarasa, 178
Mutthu Velhl, 214
Mysore, city, 251 (n), 457 (n)
Mysore State, 43 (n), 47 (n) 51, 51 (n), 59, 62, 63, 65, 66, lll(n), 112, 220, 223 (n), 250, 258, 365, 391 (n), 423 (n), 436 (n), 452, 453 (n)

N

Nāhhi, king, 404
Nabhiraja Maramma Hegde 353 (n)
Nad, the, 520

Nadakalasi, 265 (n)
Nāḍa̤l-as, the, 62, 62 (n)
Nādmaduva, 452
Naçlapu, 137
Nāḍavars, the, tee Bunts,
Nadavilmuḍi, 88, 171
Nāḍi Kuduru, 7
Nādu Balaya, 461, 486
Naḍvantādi, 416 (n)
Xadvattillāva, Naḍvattilla, 336
Naj,'a, 247,
Nagadevarnsa, king 130, 174, 359, 402, 440
Naga grama, 324 (n), 325 (n)
Nagakumara, 178
Nagaloka, 537, 561
Nagamma, 85, 171
Nagar, 520
Nāgarakhanda, 254 (n)
Nagar tāluka, 224
Nāgas, the, 60
Niigaśarmā, 70
Nagtnna, 72
Nāla (Nala), 301, 302
Malim, the 42, 42 (n)
Nalkes, the, 370
Nallūru, 410, 413, 414
Nana Deśis, the 334
Nandagin, 233 (n)
Nandarabeṭṭu, principality, 534
Nahmani Naga Diksara Sagara, **87, 171**
Nalkūru, 309
Nalvattanācju, 304
Nanda Kamba, 85, 88
Nandi, 449 (n)
Nandini, the, 42 (n)
Nandipotavarmā, king, 208, 208 (n), 209, 209 (n), 210
Nandivarmā II Pallavamalla, king, 208, 210 (n)
Nafiji-nāḍ-ālvan, 62
Naṁjanagiid, 423 (n)
Nannan, king, 49 (n)
Nanni, prince, 229
Nāpade, 87, 171
Nārad.i, 457
Naraharitīrtha, a Vaisnava guru, 421, 426, 430, 431 (n), 434
Narnsimhacarva, R., scholar, 141 (n), 362, 438 (n), 456
Narasimha Odeya, 181
Narasimhavarma, a Cola ruler, 18
Nārana (Nārāyana) Holla, 336
Narasimha Deva 1 Hoysala, king, 37, 274-279 (n)
Narasimha Deva, 11, king, 281
Naiasimha Adhíndra Deva, king, see VIra Narasimhadeva III, 283
Naiasimhatirtha, .a Vaisnava guru, 433
Narasinga Angadi, see Jamalabad
Narasingan-Dugaraja, prince, 252, 253
Narasrnga Heggade, 127, 128
Narasinga, king, 253 (n)
Nārāyana, author, 426
Nārāyaṇy Kāranta, 338
Nārāyana Mayya, 337
Nārāyana Rangoji, 530, 559
Nārāyanatlrtha, a Vaisnava guru, 420, 439
Narena Inā (Jjhana ?) Deva, 120
Narendra, 314
Narendra Kirti Deva, 415 (n)
Narmadā, the, 191, 198
Nāsik, 25, 26, 34
Nasratganj, 335
Natab, the, 376 (n)
Navalaksa Dahala Tripuri, 392
Nāyar people, the, 299, 299 (n)

Neduñjceliyan(Neduñjehyan II), king, 214, 215, 215 (n)
Nelh, 478
Nelhkāru, 153, 154
Nellifhe, 503, 506
Ntlhvādi, 113, 116
Nellore district, 207
Netrāvati, the, 42 (n), 46, 55, 299, 425
Nica, a bhūta, 369
Nlca (Sahara), 313
Nigrodha Kumāra, 321
Nilakantha Sastn, scholar, 215 (n), 216 (n), 217 (n), 363 (n)
Nilāvara (Niruvāra) 125, 126, 127 (n), 130, 139, 179 (n), 180, 282, 287,302, 380,402, 440
Nireñki, 523
Nirgundaniid, 292
Nirmala Muni Guru, 391 (n)
Nirmand Brahmans, 22
Nīrumārga (Nirmārga) 301
Niiādn, 273
Nitimārga, king 253 (n)
Nitrias, the 55 (n)
Nitturu, 299 (n)
Nacercoil, 25 (n)
Nolamba, 35, 111 (n)
Nojambas, the 230 (n)
Nolamba Narasinga Deva, king, 229, 230, 232
Nolambarāditya, chieftain, 223, 223 (n)
Nolambavadi, 32,000, 114 (n), 157, 230
North Arcot district, 395, 396 (n)
Nṛgavarmā, king, 329 (n)
Nrpa Kāma Hoysala, king, 278
Nrpamallariija, king, 252, 253
Nundolal Dey, scholar, 430 (n)
Nūrmmacji Cakratfartm, king, 123, 124, 125, 142

O

Odabhandesvara, 421, 422
Oḍḍamadeva, 127, 128, 360
Oḍḍama Devi, queen, 93, 388
Ollaiyūr, 367 (n)
Ollaiyur-tanda Bhūtap Pāṇḍiyan, prince, 367 (n)
Oloikhora, see Alvakhtda
Oma jūru, 259, 300
Ondār, 508
Orissa, 22
Oxyrhynchus, 54

**P**

Paḍalaiyan, 112, 113 (n), 116, 118
Paḍapanambuūru, 508, 509
Paddyala, 580
Padlebettu, 134, 136, 166
Padi, 301
Padirāju, 351
Padmanabhatirtha, a Vaisnava guru, 421, 426, 430, 441
Padmanaḅha Acārya, scholar, 430, 431, 435 (n)
Padmapaḍacaṛya, a Śaiva guru, 454, 455. 456
Padmatirtha, an Advaita teacher, 424
Padumala Devi, 259
Padubidre, 353 (n)
Padūra, 125, 129
Pailana-baji, 234, 236. 242
Paiyyūnlangottam, 208
Pājakakscira, 416, 432
Pajjcra, 164
Paiasige 12,000, 262 (n)
Pāieya Deva, king, 229

Pā̆lias, the, 22
Palirje'(Padirje, Pavirje), 302
Pallava-kula, 225 (n)
Pallavas, the, 70, 77-79 (n), 157, 208, 208 (n), 209, 210 (n), 245, 251
PaJH, 487
Palh Bannaya, Baidya, 478, 479, 488, 531, 534, 568, 569, 571, 573
Paḷhta Palke, 487
Palnā̆d taluka, 399 (n)
Palpare, 88, 171
Pā̆lya, 20
Panasoge, 243 (n)
Parc̆ju-rā̆madavaru, people 45¯\ 455 (n)
Parc̆ā̆ksara Guru, 399 (n)
Pafcarā̆tra, 442 (n), 450 (n)
Pañcava Mahā̆rā̆ya, General, 211
Pancjara, 43, 44 (n)
Panḍarā̆dn, 44 (n)
Pā̆nejavas, the, 43, 249
Panḍharpur, 44 (n)
Pangli-mandaladhipati 398
Pancḅta Pā̆ndya, Alupa prince, 122
Panḍita Pāndya, a S̆antara chief, 101 (n)
Pā̆ncjya, 60, 114 (n), 125, 156, 187, 246
Pandya, Pandu, a Suudra chief, 349, 352
Pā̆ndya Bhū̆pā̆la, prince, 242, 243, 243 (n), 415
Pā̆ndya DeVa Mahā̆deva, 362
Pā̆ntfyadeśa, 297, 347, 348,351, 364,375
P andya Dhananjava, prince, 138, 249
Pā̆nḍyas, of Madura, the, 31, 32, 47,' 77, 78, 111, 125, 156, 157, 216 (n), 233, 244, 245. 246, 248, 249, 363
Pāṇḍya, Patt.'a Mahā̆devT, queen, 163, 236, 237
PáṇcḷyaVilLinisa, 87, 87 (n), 159
PāṇemanRaḷūru, Pilnemoger, 465, 518
Par̆ja, principality, 479, 488, 503, 504, 505, 512, 532, 533, 563, 578
Par̆ji Gujjire, 536
Par̆ji Kā̆li, 536
IVjipadi, 518
Parjita guttu, 509
Par̆j-irli, a bhū̆ta, 463, 465, 466, 492, 527, 536, 539, 540, 542, 543, 544, 545, 574, 578, 582
Pan- irpalḥ, 163, 164, 237, 359
PānuRal 500, 204, 207, 262 (n), 280
Parakala Pā̆ncḷya, 362
Parakonkaṇa, 29
Parā̆krama Pā̆ndya, king, 362
Parapab Naṿaka, 102-106 (n), 4S1
Pa rase by a, 178
Parasu Bhattaraka, 409
Paraśurilma, Jā̆madagnya, 10-16 (n)-21 (n)-22(n)-24(n)-26(n), 29 (n), 34, 38-40, 56 (n), 296, 297, 324 (n), 325, 325 (n), 326, 326 (n), 331 (n), 379, 406, 407, 409, 437
Para6urā̆mabhū̆mi, 29
Paravas, the, 370, 371 (n)
Pargiter, scholar, 45 (n)
Parige, 258, 258 (n)
Parimale, principality, 463, 469, 479, 501, 525, 547, 550, 572, 578, 580

Parna-Śabaras, the, 351 (n)
Parpara (Barbara), 326 (n)
Pās ana, 12
Pāsaṇḍhas, the, 405
Paśukonkaṇa, 29
Paśupati, prince, 250
Patāja, 46
Pātala Lankā, 40
Pathak, scholar, 209 (n)
Patiala, 335 (n)
Pattadakal, 79 (n)
PavarYji Guru Rao, 433 (n)
Payosnl, the, 45, 46
Pavasvānf, Candragm̃, the, 4\ 46, 419, 420
Payyayyi, 51S
Payyo, 472, 472 (n)
Peddore, the, 276
PeddGra, 520
Penzer, scholar, 298 (n)
Pervade, 203
Pergguñji, 221,
Pertyer Kac.lañjar, 461, 4S5, S46
Per-kāgāmāsi, 71
Permmālu, 204
Permmānaḍi, 233 *(n)*
Pugah Perumal, 398
Perumals, the, 4 (n)
Peru Perumunde, 531, 535
Pliny, 54
Pijetāya, see Tnvikramačiirya
Pilicāmuṇḍh, a bhūta, 519
Pihpafjar, 518
Pihyottu Parān, 509
Pillai, Swamikannu, scholar, 50 (n)
Pires, author, 327 (n)
Polokku Priyacelva, 88, 171
Pojali Ammunnije, 6, 83-85, 99, 131, 133, 153, ̣381, 406 (n)
Polalu, not the same as Polali, 406 (n)
Polippu, 465
Pombadas, the, 370, 460, 462
Pombuccha, Pombulca, Ponvuḷca, Humca, Patti, 65, 67, 68, 72, 75, 76, 78, 84, 89, 90, 90 (n), 112, 118, 178, 184, 186, 187, 224, 225, 234, 235, 235 (n), 236, 240, 241, 243, 265, 386, 387
Pommadaya, 351 , 375
Pongada, 497
Ponnedongadi, 487
Poona, 433 (n)
Pottika, 321, 322, 323
Povullunād, 487
Prabhācandra, a Jaina guru, 122, 413
Prabhūtavarsa Govinda I I I , king, 66, 218-223 (n)
Prāc\as, the, 41
Pradhāna Arpa Heggao'e, 167
Prāntva, a quarter, 119, 120, I 4\ 38l", 413
Pratāpa Rudra, king, 263
Pratipa, 13
Pravarapura, 164
Projarāja, General, 263
Priyabandhu, Priẏabandhvarmā Devendra, king, 333
Pṛthvīsāgara, king, 88, 89, 91, 92, 157, 159, 160, 171,176,184,185, 187, 233, 249, 358, 387
Przyluski, scholar, 52
Ptolemy, 24, 54, 56, 56 (n), 58, 61, 172, 200, 335
Pude, 301
Pudukkōjtai, State, 244
Pūjyapādasvāmi, a Jaina guru, 415 (n)
Pulastya, sage, 404

Puleyarma, 178,
Puḷiga, chief, 230 (n)
Puligere (Laksmeśvar), 300, 207
PulikeSin II, Satyāśraya king, 15, 58, 59, 68, 69, 76, 77, 78, 79 (n), 82, 201, 202, 202 (n)
Pulinda, 313
Puliyur, 215
Punatcandra, 12
Pulumāvi Gotamiputra Śatakarni. king, 199
Punisa, (General, 273
Punnāta, 51
Purāl, 522, 541
Purandhara (hill), 246
Purandhara Rāya, a Kadamba king, 451 (n), 452 (n)
Purrhus, see Mons Pyrrhus
Puruśottamatirtha, see Acyuta-preksa Acārya
Purvagrama, 394
Puspagin, in Tuluva, 43, 45
Puspagin in the Cuddappah district, 43 (n), 399
Putrabāva, 509
Puttigc, 47 (n), 124, 125, 181, 402
Puttur near Cdipi, 21, 379, 380, 451 (n)
Puttur tāluka, 223(n), 252, 294(n), 371
Puttur town, 377

R

Rācmalla I, king, 25.' (n)
Rācmalla 11, king, 253 (n)
Rācmalla III, Narsinga Rācmalla, king, 253 (n)
Rācamallan-Dugarāja, king, 252, 253
Rāḷhā, 442
Rādhā, 394
Rāghavendia Ballāja, scholar, 444 (n)
Raghu, 13
Raghucandra Ballāla, 353 (n)
Rainapuṇya Vallabha, 70, 165
Rājādi-BellatQru, Rajaḍ I-K anyāna, 309
Rājaditya Rāja Parameś\ara, king, 220-223
Rāja Kesanvarmā Kulottunga Cola Deva, king, 214
Rāja Rāja Coḷa, king, 211
Rājisimhi, Ranarāga, king, 201 (n)
Rajatapltha, see also Cdipi, 417, 418, 421, 422, 424, 429, 435
Rajendra Coḷa, king, 16
Rajgir, 41 (n)
Rajputs, the, 8 (n)
Rakkasa Ganga, king, 229-230(n)
llakkhita, Thera, 51 (n)
Rarnachandra, Bhatta, 87
Rāmacandra Sarasvati Ocḷeyar, a Smārtha guru, 453
Rārnachandra, Yādava king, 265, 436, 436 (n)
Rāmānujācārya, reformer, 273, 409, 442, 451 (n)
Rama Rio, Senegal, scholar, 429 (n), 430 (n)
Rama Rao (of Mysore), scholar, 121 (n), 250, 251 (n)
Rāmatirtha, a Vaisṇava Guru, 433
Ramesvaram, 190, 194, 420
Rāmeivaratlrtha, 222
Rāmiñjūru (Rāmiñj*, Rājakufija), 301
Ramnad district, 248
Ramnagar, 335
Ranadhāri, 90 (n), 170
Ranake£in, king, 228

Raṇaketu, 111 (n)
Ranaghata, 456
Ranasāgara, king, 83-89, 91, 92, 93, 156, 171, 176, 177, 381 (n), 382 (n), 386
Ranavagga Bira, 286
Ranavikramanatha, 176
Rangachan (Rangacharyva). scholar, 87 (n), 288 (n)
Ranga Raya, king, 457
Rano Cutu Kadānamdasa, king, 198
Rano Mudānamdasa, 198
Rashid-ud Din, 226
Rāstrakūtas, the, 92, 203, 204 (n), 217, 219, 220
Ratnagiri, 37, 38 (n), 56 (n)
Rattiga, 211
Raunragrārna. I l l (n)
Ravana, 39
Ravana kiln, 286,
Ravivarma, king, 329 (n)
Rayamurari Soyi Deva, king 18
Raya Pandva. a Santara chief, 101 (n)
Riiva Tailapa Deva, a Santara king, 114(n)
Reṇukā, Renuki 10. 20, 21, 31. 32, 33, 44
Revati Dvipa, 37, 201
Rice, Lewis, scholar, 17 (n), 24 (n), 33,40, 51 (n), 59. 62. 62 (n), 74, 76, '.9 (n), 111 (n), 165 (n). 180 (n), 201, 201 (n), 206 (n), 208 (n), 222, 223, 223 (n), 235 (n), 228, 232 (n), 235, 237, 238, 246 (n), 254 (n), 255 (n), 257 (n), 258 (n), 264, 266 (n), 272 (n), 273, 280 (n), 281 (n), 285 (n), 327 (n), 332, 333, 436 (n), 450 (n), 455 (n)
Rohilkand, 335
l.sabha, king, 404-406
I. sikulyā, 41
Rudra Mahā Devi, queen, 392, 393, 394
Rudra Sivācārya, 397 (n)
Rukku Ballāḷa, 504, 515, 563

S

Sābanna Oḍeyar, 453
Sabaras, the, 312, 313
Seḍaiyan KoccadaiyanRanadhira, king, 215, 216, 218, 219, 221, 223, 364
Sadbhava Sambhu, 392-394 (n), 396
Sadbhava-Siva, 393 (n)
Sāer, 168, 188
Sāgara, 20, 24, 267
Sāgarhobli, 112
Sagar tāluka, 285, 286, 365, 452
Saguri Kufjata, 340
Sah ibrabāhu Arjuna, see Kārtavir>a
Sahya, mountains, Sahyādri (Simhādri), 12, 13, 24, 26, 29, 41, 46, 46 (n), 197, 198, 199, 214, 305
Saivacaryas, the, 396 *(n)*
Saivalaa, the, 40
Saivites, the, 305, 379 (n), 381, 450 (n)
Saka-dvīpa, 41, 42 (n)
Sakha Kumāra, 321, 322
Sankiya Sāhani, General, 286
Śakti Sambhu, 394, 396
Salem, district, 53
Sāligrāma, 377 (n)
Salikeyara, 284
Sâlivoge, 70, 71, 72, 185, 187

Sali\ur, 214
Saluvas, the, 213
Salva Malla, king, 365
Sāma Alva, 154 (n), 469, 470, 479, 480, 488, 489, 493, 501, 516, 524, 526 (n), 548-555, 569
Samantaparcaka, 10
Sāmbhavi, the 42 (n)
Sambu Kalkuda, 490, 494, 521, 556, 566-7
Samudra Pāndya, 361-363 (n)
Sandavarada, 176
Sāndima, Sardinia, Cāndimat, Sāntimant, Sāntimauta, Sānti, 16
Saneśvara, see Bainduūru, 349
Śai gham, 48, 49, 50, 51, 54, 244
Sangltapura, 365
Safje Marje, 506, 564
Sankamale, 262, 488, 515, 568
Śankarācārya, Gaudapāda, reformer, 343, 343 (n), 344 (n), 384, 418, 453, 454, 455, 437
Sai'karā-deu, 153
Śankara ga na, king, 201
Śankara Handc, 338
Sankaranarayana, 21, 45, 305
Sankara Odeyar, 337, 339
Sankaraśarmaā, 70
Sanku, 529
Santajige Thousand, 97, 224, 228, 231, 232,264
Sāntara, 65, 76, 93, 224, 225 (n), 264
Śāntaras, the, 145, 156, 224, 227, 228, 230 (n), 233, 237, .38, 239, 242, 244, 256, 257, 265, 266, 412, 415
Sānta Siva, 399
Sapta Konkaṇas, 24, 27-32, 34-35 (n), 36, 38, 39, 58, 407
Sapta Kotīśvara, 26, 27
Saradi, the, 305
Sarabhanpa, 12
Sārangapāṇi, Yādava prince, 437
Sarapoji
Sararsime, 518
Śārasvata, Sarsut, Brahmans, 22
Śarāvatī, the, 46
Silreya bhirava Nayaka, 255-257
Saridanta, a chief, 425
Saruvigosasiga, 178
Sarvvandu (Sarvabandhu), 178
Śāstāvu, village, 377 (n)
Śdsti, 325 (n)
Śātakkā, 452
Śātaviihanas, Siitarkarnib, the, 52, 53, 196, 197, 197 (n), 199,200
Satiyaputa (Satyaputra), 47, 48, SO, 51, 52, 374, 374 (n), 375 (n)
Śatfaniitha Sivācārya, 396 (n)
Sattiga (Satyāśraya), king, I04(n)
Sātvatab, the, 48, 52, 53, 196, 199
Satyabhūmi, 47, 48, 48 (n), 51, 53
Satyatlrtha, a Vaisnava guru, 421, 42-', 423
Satyavākya Kongunivarmil Dharma Mahārāja, king, 233 (n)
Satyavatī, 348
Saumyavīra Pāṇḍya, prince, 348
Saurāstra, 263
Savalandā^ka, 478
Sāvanta, prince, 306, 349, 351
Savantavadi, State, 37
Sāvāsis, the, 164
Sāvimale, 269, 269 (n)
Sāyana Baidya, 470, 496, 498, 507, 510, 529, 250, 553, 557, 559, 560, 566, 571, 572, 577
Sāyana Baidyedi, 560
Sehoa, 45 (n)

^ellevājvas, the, 62
Senabova Devanṇa, 181, 182
SenaVadi, T.'8
Senavarasa, 78 (n), 79 (n), 168
Sena vara Arkkesari, king, 70 (n)
Ṣenavarasa, ruler, 207
Ṣendan or Jayantavarman, king, 215 (n), 216 (n),
Ṣendrakab, the, 251
Ṣendraka-visaya, 251
Ṣenguttuvan, king 40, 50
Ṣetti Gavunda, 270
Ṣcuis, the, 467, 549
Setu (Setuvinabidu), 235, 267, 268, 268 (n)
Setutila, Kadta|a, 441
Seven Gaudas, 36
Seven Kalingas, 37
Seven Koṁbu, 37, 97, 212, 214
Seven Male, 31, 36, 97, 212, 214
Shimoga, 453 (n)
Shimoga district, 112, 198, 365
Śībi, king, 297
Siddhanta *Deva,* 415 (n)
Siddhapuskaraṇṇl, 20
Siddhesvaravarma, prince, 348
Sikhiketu, prince 347
Sikhivarmā or Mayiirvarmā, king 300
Simhana, king 257, 437
Sindabur 226
Singadatta, 176
Smgaṇa Sāhaṇi, 136, 137
Singeya Daṇṇiiyaka, 362-364
Singi Deva, a Ṣantara king, 114 (n), 116, 229
Singideva, General, 112, 118
Smkiri Sum, 481
Siradi, 575 (n)
Sinyadi, (Siripadi) 302
Sirśi (Sinse), 258, 285, 286, 292
Sirtāṭfi, 153
Sirūr, 2
Sibugali, 32
Sita, the, 41, 42 (n), 299
Sitale, 8, (n)
Siva Devī, 348,
Sivaili, Sivabelli, Sivabelki, 82, 90 (n), 178, 180, 190, 302, 339, 350, 354, 387, 387 (n), 417, 457 (n)
sivamara, king, 220
Sivananda Yogi, 107
Sjvarma (SiVavarma), 347
Skandapura see Talapa^i, 290
Smarthas (Bhagavatas) the. 449-455, 457, 457 (n)
Sobhanabhatta, see Padmanābhatīrtha, a Yaisnava guru
Sohrab tāluka, 20, 62, 60, 72, 165, 220, 258
Solomon, king, 371 (n)
Soma, king, 18, 329
Somala Devi, princebs, 241
Soma Sambhu, 303, 393 (n), 304, 304 (n), 306
Somes vara Deva, king, 206, 255, 260
SOVanna Senabova, 136
Soyi Ballahadeva, chieftain, 265 (n)
SOṂ Deva, king, 254, 254 (n), 3:8
Soyideva (Soyirāya) Alupendradiva, king," 134-136, 138-1441, 150, 166, 169, 175, 184, 101, 283, 403, 440
Srā(i)dharanātha, 137, 170
Srāvakas, the, 414
Sravana Belgoja, 408, 410
Sri-Bārakanūr, 225, 226
Sribūdu, 106 (n)

Sridhara Bhatta, 30
Sridharasvami, a Smartha guru, 457
Sri-Kaladitya, 81, 170
Srikīrti Bhattāraka, 415 (n)
Srimanturu), (Simanturu), 302
Srīmat Aluvarasar, (Alvarasar), 81, 82, 159, 170, 385
Srimvasacarya, 433 (n)
Snnivasa Rao, (Madras Government Epigraphist), 157
ripadi, 301
Sripurusn Prthvi kongunivrddha, king, 15, 16, 230, 253 (n)
Srīrangam, 420
Sri Sāji Rāna, 164
Srīśarma Sornayāji, 71
Sri Siyagellara&a, 111 (n)
Snyūti Rāna, 164
Srutamuni, 415 (n)
Stambha., Kumbha, Vauca Kambha Deva, Ranāvaloka, king, 222
Sthānikas (Goravaru), the, 80, 80 (n), 90 (n), 385, 386
Sturrock, 1, 4, 54 (n), 361 (n) 372 (n), 373 (n), 428, 457 (n)
Subrahmanya, 21,43, 370, 416(n), 418,423,423 (n), 575 (n)
Subrahmanya Aiyar, (Madras Government Epigraphifat ) 124(n), 141, 154 (n), 243, 289
Śudraka, 14, 85, 100, 171
Śūdras, the, 312
Sugriva, 357
Sujeru, 131, 133, 174
Sukha, 457
Sukti, the, 304
Suktimati, the, 2, 42 (n), 45, 45 (n), 299, 310
Sukumārl, the, 41-42 (n)
Sulikal Kadañjar, 461, 482, 534
Suḷya, 377
Summuni, 481
Sūna Jana Nāvaka, 481
Sunda, 325
Surabhi, 20
Sūrala (mod. Surālu), 107, 370, 377 (n)
Sūrala Tolaha, 107
Surasra, 27, 28, 29
Surat, 38, 456, 483
Suresvaraearva, a Śaiva guiu, 453
Surparaka, 11, 12, 26, 27
Suslla, queen, 297, 141
Susenavadi, 178
Sutlei, 22
Suvarnā, the, 47 (n), 79
Svarnagosasi, 178
Sveta-dvipa, 46
Svetavāhana, king, 83, 87, 87 (i ), 88, 89, 92, 93, 159, 249, 386

T

Tagalūr, 111 (n)
Taila 11, king, 204 (J.)
Taila III, king, 262 (n)
Tailapa Deva, chieftain of Candavūru, 258 (n)
Tailapa Deva, Sāntara king, 228, 229, 231
Takkasila (Taksaśila), 321
Talakād, 269, 273, 453-456
Talapādi (Kandāvara, Skandapura), 302
Tajavāra, chieftains, 306
Talepāditāya, 308
Tājetāya, 305
Talgunda (Sthangudha), Tanaguṇḍa, 251, 327, 327(n), 331-334
Taligenāḍ, 362

Tambu Marakala, 518
Tamilagam, 48, 452 (n)
Tammarasa, chieftain, 265, 266
Tāmraparna, country, 40
TāmraparṇI, the, 44
TangouM, 478
Tārgoḍu, 21
Tanjore district, 397
Tāpi, the 46 (n)
Tarapāḍi guttu, 509
Tare-guḍḍe, 137
Teji Bhaṭṭayya, 338
Telḷāru, 208
Telugu land, Telingana, 48 (n), 211,452
Temple, scholar, 373 (n)

Temple of—
Amṛtanātha Deva, 259
AmrteAvara, 259
Anantipad manabhasvami, 134, 13.'
Anantcsvaru, Ananlesa, 106 (n), 155, 299, 305, 377, 379 (n), 384,417,447, 449, 449 (n)
Badiringa (Badarinātha ?), 559
Bṛhadāmbikā, 395
Cakrapāṇi, 141, 142, 143
Cattisvara, 558
Colisvara, 213
Durgā Bhagavati, 21, 139,172, 28,, 403,451
Durgā Parameśvari, 6,7, 83, 85, 86, 98, 145, 225, .59
Gaṇapati, 258
Gauri, 1J9, 120, 145, 147,407, **413**
Gollara Gaṇapati, 61, 131, 133
Gubbukoṇe Gopālakpjṇa, 283, 289, 309
**fcvara, 452**
Kāntesvara, 183, 282, 293
Kōlālammā, 20
Konarak, 22
Kōṭeśvara, 89, 125, 127, 181, 558, 559
Kōtiśvara, 136
Krsṇa, 416 (n)
Kundesvara, 125, 128, 181
Laksmindrayana, 391 (n)
Laksmivarahafcvāmi, 398
Madanādipati, 424
Madarmntesvara (Venka^a-ramana), 262
Mahādeva, 152. 294 (n)
Mahālingesvara, 83, 86, 108, 119, 120, 124, 125, 126, 129, 130, 137, 139, 140, 252, 360, 379 (n)
Maheśvara, 535
MahtsāMiramardhini, 125, 126, 127, 130, 180, 282, 287
Marjunatha, 131, 133
Mūlasthānadeva,399(n), 400(n)
Nakharesvara, 119
Narasimha, 204 (n), 260
Nilakanthesvara, 454
Nīlgunda, 164
Niradevālaya, 132 (n)
Pancalingesvara, 109, 110, 114, 115, 163, 1,4, 206, 233, 359
Pāntfyesvara, 141, 142
Parasu, 20
Prāneśvara, 251
bambhukallu (Bhairava), 63, 79-81, 83-90 (n), 101, 175-178,185, 186, 238, 382(n), 385
Sankaranārāyana, 377
Siddhesvara, 112, 114, 114 (n), 117, 204 (n), 263
Somanātha (Somanātheśvara), 134, 135, 164, 33,, **414**

Someśvara 43 (n), 93, 96, 167, 169, 176, 179, 212, 282, 288, 292, 388, 522
Sringeśvara, 69
Subrahmaṇya, 136, 207, 294
Udipi Srikrsna 339
Varadanātha, 325
Vareśvara, 518
Venkataramaṇa, 19, 483
Vināyaka, 101
Visṇumūrti, 128, 181, 379 (n)
Vitfhala, 44 (n)
Tenagale (Kenakala, Tenakala), 302
Tenkanidiyuru, 379 (n)
Thāṇa, 38, 38 (n)
Tholuvar, a tribe, 214-215 (n)
Thurtton, scholar, 371 (n)
Tibora, 4,8, 50.'
Tilangas (Ttlungus, Tulungus), the, 44
Timmaṇṇatikāri (Timmanna Adhikān)4,8, 507
Timmappa Hcgḍe, SO (n)
Tinnevelly district, 39.'
Tīrthahaḷḷi, 20, 24, 453
Tīrthahaḷḷi taluka, 455, 456
Tīrthamuttūra, 453, 455
TIrthankara, 405
Tirujanasambandhar, Jnanasambandhar, Pijḷe Nayanār, 216 (n), 217 (n)
Tirukodugunru *alias* Daksina Kailasa, 398
Tirumakkudlu-Narsipura taluka, 454
Tirumalainācju, 398, 399
Tirumarkkada, 216 (n)
Tirupati, 104, 106 (n), 483
Tirupparankunram, 399 (n)
Tṛuvailu, 259
Tiruvalava, 216 (n)
Tiruvalur, 391 (n)
Tiruvāṇbūr, 208
Tiruvarūr, 397
Todakinār, a bhūta, See Dharma, king, 537
Tolar (dynasty), Tolaha, 3, 4 (n)
Tolāra, prince 349
Tonḍaimandalam, 54, 213
Toramaravihaya, 210
Tottilu, Twenty-four, 310, 310 (n), 312
Trailokyamalla Someśvara I, king, 204, 399 (n)
Trailokyamalla Vira Śāntara Deva, king, see Biruga Vira Śāntara
Travancore (Anantaśayana) 24, 38 (n), 245, 367 (n), 419, 420
Tribhuvanamalla Bijjala (Bijjiṇa) deva, king 112, 114, 114 (n), 115, 118
Tribhuvaṇamalla (Janga, see Vinayāditya Hoysala, king, 269 (n)
Tribhuvanamalla Pandya, king, 244, 246
Tripurāntakam, 395, 399
Tripuri (mod. Tewar), 392
Trivikramācārya, a Vaisṇava guru, 419, 419 (n), 424, 426
Tnyambaka, 26
Tuju people, Tujuvas, Tujuvars, 3-5, 8, 9,40, 41,54, 176, 205, 215, 274, 286, 309, 352,368,371, 372 (n), 373 (n), 38.', 389, 459, 460, 460 (n), 472, 473, 480, 482, 488, 489, 491, 495, 502, 504, 506, 507, 517, 532, 537, 538, 541, 566-569, 573

Tuḷuva, Tulu district, Tulunāḍu, TuluVisaya, *passim*
Tulurhbhan Perumal, 3, 4
Tuluva Brahmans, 324, 342, 407
Tuluva Caṇḍiga, 204
Tuḷuvalapura, 276 (n)
Tuluva- Rājendrapuram, 280 (n)
Tuluva (Tulu) rājya, 2, 175
Tujuva Yellālers, 213, 214, 371(n)
Tumbt, 518, 519
Tumkur district, 223 (n)
Tundaṙkavisaya, 209 (n)
Tungfi, the 46, 47 (n), 427
Tungabhadrii, the, 47, 222
Tungapratta 45
Tuppekallavu, 5 15
Tuyva, 225

**U**

Ubar (Uppinangadi), 425, 521
Vbaraḍkā Muttūru, 377
Vcchangi, 32
Vcchangi Pāndva famik, 15;, 244, 245, 247
IMāka, 208 (n)
Udayāditya Pāna\'a Pattigadeva, king, 98, 99, 100, 101, 101 (n), 122, 138, 139, 161 (n), 205, 214, 358
I`davādiUaiasa, Hovsala prince, 269
Vdayapura Niiyga (Nāyaka), 176
Udayāvara, IMipura, Odevura, Udayapura, 6, 62-64 (n), 66, *bl*, 78-80 (n)-92, 101, 154 (n), 167, 171-173, 175-178, 184-187, 224, 227-228, 249, 347, 351, 381, 385-387, 400, 418
I'ddandabottu, 530, 535
I ddara (Iḍḍala), 464, 5 ,
Udipi tāiuka, 21, 63, 83, 86, 101, 102, 105,119,124, 125, 127, 129, 130, 134, 136,139,140, 174, 180, 282, 283, 287-290, 336, 338, 340, 370, 377, 377 (n), 379, 380, 402, 406 (n), 440
L'ciipi, Odipu, Udipu, town, 6, 21, 21 (n), 40, 42-44, 96 (n), 102, 106 (n), 131, 137, 154 (n? 155, 299 (n), 307, 340, 355, 377, 379 (n), 380 (n), 384,412, 416, 416 (n), 417, 418, 422-423 (n), 425, 426 (n), 428, 429 (n), 432 (n), 433, 433 (n), 435, 443, 444 (n), 447, 451
l.'ḍupa, 305
Iġrapperuvuludi, king, 48
Ugra-vamśa, 235, 236, 242-243(n)
Ujjain, 206, 348, 352, 357
Ujjayanta, 45
Ujjre (tjjari, Tjjaie), 301, 308, 310 (n), 312, 313
Uḷavattu, 518
Ullala, 43 (n). 408, 522
Ulapadi, 320
Ulūpi, Ulūpe, 43 (n)
Upadhye, A. N., scholar, 415
Upendratirtha, a Vaisnava guru, 422, 433
Upparana, 305
Upper Kaṅci, 483
Uppinakuduru, 17, n
Uppuru, 79, 101, 530
Uruttirasamman, author, 48
Uttama Pandya, 248-9
Uttara Paflcāla, 335
Utulus, the, 40

V

Vadighangala Bhatta, 30
Vadiraja, a Vaisnava guru, 416 (n)

Vādisimha, 418
Vāgīśa, Tiruvāglśa, 217 (n)
Vaidyanatha, see Murµ^ipādīţāya, a bhūta, 537
Vaijayanti, 56, 60, 66, 68, 70
Vaikuŋthá, 565
Vaindainagara, 37
Vaiśaṁpāyana, 14
Saisesikas, the, 442
Vaisnavism, 273, 318, 411, 442, 148
Vaisnavites, the, 305, 345, 379(n), 443, 450 (n)
Vaitaranī, the, 25
Vakketars, the, 460, 568
Valabhi, 324 (n), 325 (n)
Vajalanka, 17 (n), 40, 40 (n)
Vāmadeva I.'si, 445, 446
Vāmanatlrtha, a Vaisnava guru, 433
Vāmanjūru Rāmanatha, 306
Vaṁji, 50
Vannapa '(Annapa ? ) Bhandāri, 559, 570
Varakūla see also Bālakuru, 297, 341, 348
uatta, 28
Varanga, 100, 119, 121, 134, 138, 412, 413, 414
Varāta-desà-Varahaṙa, 30, 263
Varkadi, Orkadi, 301
Vasanta Kirti Ravulfa, a Jaina guru, 243, 243 (n), 415
Vasa Siddala Devī, queen, 241
Vafcu,,legendary, king, 297
VisuDeva, 120
Vāsudeva Hojja, 336
Vasudeva Mayya, 337
Vāsudeva Mudali, 289
Vātāpi (Bidarni), 77, 244
Veda Pāda Parvata, 46
VedavatI, 417
Velangapundi (Velagapudi), 392
Vellillers, Tu|uva, 54
Venkata, country, 405
Venkatadasa, Acairya, scholar, 96 (n), 426 (n), 432 (n), 433 (n)
Venkata Ramanayya, schoiar, 284 (n), 285 (n), 292 (n)
Venkayya, scholar, 217 (n)
Venkoba Rao (Madras Government Epigraphist), 59, 61, 62, 64, 93, 122(n), 14'.', 147(n), 234, 244, 248, 367 (n), 384 (n)
Venkoba Rao, B (of Mysore), scholar, 438 (n), 439 (n)
Veŋukā, the, 42 (n)
Venūru, Yeŋūru, 110, 111, 459, 468, 520, 521, 567
Vibudhavasu Alupa, king, 54 (n), 123, 124, 125, 314, 317, 345, 440
Vidyiiranya Svāmi, a Saiva guru, 430, 432 (n)
Vidyāśankara, a Śaiva teaccr, 419, 420, 420 (n), 424, 451 (n), 452 (n)
Vidyutjimha, prince, 349
Vija-arasa, a chief, 251
VijaŋaNāyga, 86, 185, 238
Vijayadeva Ajupendra, king, 91, 92, 160, 170
Vijayāditya Māramma, Alupa king, 83, 89, 90 (n)( 91, 178, 184, 186, 190, 219, 249, 358, 387
Vijayāditya Satyāśraya, king, 208-209, 210, 210 (n)
Vijayāditya, a Sāntara king, 34
Vijayadu- 56 (n)
Vijaya Jaina guru, 223 (n)
Vijaya city, 293 (n), 293, 356,

Vijayanagara (dynasty), 19, 145, 153, 170, 175, 180, 191, 282, 288 (n), 290, 291, 294, 309, 365
Vijanayagara Empire, 140, 292, 365
Vijaya Pandya Deva, king, 35
Vijayapura, another name for Ahicchatra, 333
Vijaya Vidyā Deva Rāya, 455 (n)
Vmayāditya, king, 344 (n)
Vinja Praharabhusana, 87, 386
Vijaya Navaka, 337-338,
Vĩkramāditya, General, 254, 254 (n), 255
Vikramāditya Varaguṇa, a chief, 245
Vikramāditva, king of Ujjain, 357
Vikramāditya I Ranarasika. king, 69, 77, 78,79(n), 82
Vikramāditya II, king, 208, 208 (n), 209, 209 (n), 210
Vikramāditya IV, king, 204 (n)
Vikramāditya VI, TribhuVanamalla, II, Vikramānka, Vikramārka, 17, 17 (n), 32, 35, 204, 205, 206, 260, 348, 349, 352, 357, 358
Vikrama Santara, king 114 (n)
Vijlrittajivarasa, prince, 252, 253
Vimaladitya, king, 93
Vimala Siva (Bhimala Łambhu), 394, 397, 399
Vimala Suri Bhattaraka, 415 (n),
Vmayaditya Hoysala Deva, king, 246, 268, 269 (n), 280 (n)
Yinayaditya Satyasraya, king, 15, 17,'59, 66, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 78,82, 84, 92, 159, 185, 186, 202, 210
Vira Ballala Deva II (Ballu), king 35, 182, 276, 279, 280, 281
Vira Ballala III, king, 139, 282-286 (n), 288-293, 361,362
Vira Bhairava Ksamāpāla, a chief 242, 243, 243 (n) 415
Vira Bhūpa (Bhūpati) prìnce, 346, 346 (n)
Vira Bhūpāla, 122
Vira Bhūpati Oḍeyar, Viceroy 346 (n)
Vira Camṇarasa Ocjeyar, chieftain, 294 (n)
Vira Jagadevarasa (Santara), 234, 235, 236, 238, 239, 239 (n), 241, 242, 269, 271, 272, 272 (n), 273
Vira Kulāśekhara, (II), king, 139, 140, 380, 403
Vira Mahādevī, princess, 229, 230
Vira Masana, 362
Vira Narasimha II, 19, 35
Vira Narastmhadeva III, 182, 283, 284
Vira Noḷamba, king, 37
Virapaiya, 366
Vira Pàṇ^ya, king of Kārka|a, 147 (n), 243
Vira Pàṇḍya, a legendary prince, 349,352
Vira Pandya, II, king of the south, 362, 363, 363 (n)
Pandya Deva, (I) Alupa king, 107, 121, 125, 126. 127, 129, 149, 162, 163, 167, 179, 181, 182, 261, 263, 359, 360, 380, 402, 440
Vīra Pàṇọ!yadeva, ( Il ) Alupa king, 290-292, 403
Vira Pandyadeva III, Alupa king, 145-147 (n), 152